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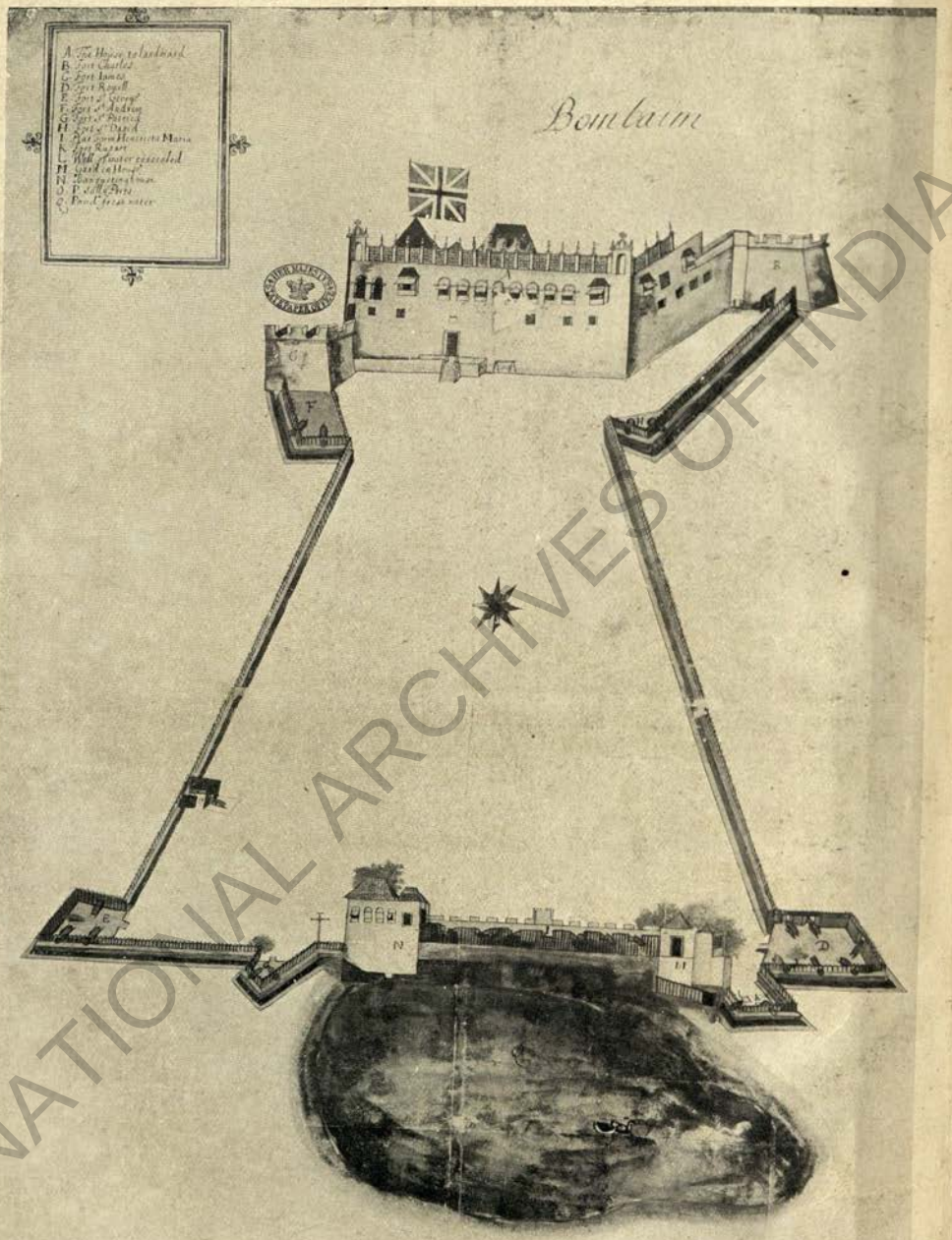

BOMBAY FORT IN 1665

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1665–1667

BY

SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.

31661

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PREFACE

THE three years covered by the present instalment were full of stirring events. At home the outbreak of war with the Dutch (who were subsequently joined by the French), the Plague of 1665, and the Fire of London in 1666, were topics of special interest. To these many references will be found in the following pages, though as regards the Plague and the Fire fuller particulars may of course be gleaned from the corresponding volume of *Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company*, 1664–7, which has recently been published.

In the East the war naturally produced considerable dislocation of English trade and diminished materially the activities of the various factories. As regards shipping, the Company's losses were insignificant compared with those sustained in the previous war (1652–4), owing to the fact that the port-to-port trade had been discontinued and so the ships engaged in the regular trade between England and the Indies were the only ones the Dutch could attempt to capture. The number sent out of these was reduced in consequence of the war, and they were mostly fortunate enough to evade the enemy, the only exception being the *Dorcas*, which was taken when nearing the English Channel on her way home. At Surat, Masulipatam, and in Bengal the Indian Governors were strong enough to enforce neutrality in territorial waters, though at Balasore two English vessels were assailed in the outer road and were obliged to take refuge within the bar; while at Masulipatam the Dutch were only deterred from attacking the *Constantinople Merchant* by the threats of the King of Golconda and his local representative to retaliate upon the Dutch factors ashore. Fears

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were entertained of assaults upon Madras and Bombay; but the Dutch were too much occupied in other quarters to spare men for such attempts. On the Malabar Coast, however, the weak English settlements suffered severely. Immediately after receiving news of the outbreak of hostilities, the Dutch seized the factories at Porakād and Old Kāyal and made prisoners of the two Englishmen in charge. At Calicut the Zamorin resisted all demands for the surrender of the factors there; though his demands for money in recompense became so outrageous that the latter were forced to take refuge at Tanur, twenty miles to the southwards, until they could make their peace with him. The only other English station in those parts was Kārwār, and this was abandoned in the autumn of 1666, owing to the disturbances caused by the fighting between Sivāji and the Bījāpur forces. At Surat, we may note, the existence of hostilities between the two nations did not prevent the Dutch merchants from exchanging visits with the English and giving them, over a glass of wine, information about the movements of the Dutch fleet (p. 187).

The treaty of Breda (July, 1667), by which the war was terminated, was a great disappointment to the East India Company (p. 278). Under its terms each nation retained the places it had captured; and so Pulo Run, which had been for long a bone of contention between the two nations, passed permanently into the possession of the Dutch, who had yielded it up to the Company's servants in March, 1665, only to take it again eight months later. By another provision of the treaty all claims for damages sustained in the past were cancelled; and thus vanished all hope of recovering the 260,000*l.* which the Company alleged it had lost by the action of the Dutch, quite apart from the more speculative damages caused by the long withholding of Pulo Run. True, the claims which the Dutch were making on their side were also cancelled; but since no one in England took these seriously, the

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Company felt that their withdrawal was no compensation for the non-satisfaction of its own claims, and was inclined to think that its interests had been unfairly sacrificed in the negotiations. However, to any body of merchants it was a relief to find peace re-established, and so the Committees turned their attention with renewed zeal to arrangements for the re-settling of factories and for increasing their trade.

Apart from these warlike topics the volume contains much that is of interest and novelty. Though the records relating to the Bengal factories are deplorably scanty, it has been found possible to trace the main threads of their history during the three years. On the Coromandel Coast the principal events of the period were the supersession of Sir Edward Winter at Madras by a new agent from England in the person of George Foxcroft: Winter's subsequent imprisonment of the latter and seizure of the administration: and the unsuccessful attempts made by the Company's servants at Masulipatam to bring about the downfall of the usurper. Much of the information now given on this subject is new. The record of the Malabar factories (to whose troubles allusion has already been made) includes a great deal of information regarding Sivāji, including his defeat by Jai Singh, his visit to Agra, his escape therefrom, and his subsequent activities. At Surat Sir George Oxenden continued his strong and able administration, despite serious troubles caused by the hostilities with the Dutch and by disputes with the Governor due to the inconsiderate behaviour of the royal officials at Bombay.

The chief feature of the volume is, however, the information it provides concerning the early history of Bombay—its transfer by the Portuguese to the English: the steps taken by the acting Governor, Humphrey Cooke, to organize the administration and to fortify the island against an expected Dutch attack: the arrival of Sir Gervase Lucas as Governor: his brief administration: and

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then the temporary rule of Henry Gary, which lasted until the island was taken over by the East India Company, in pursuance of a grant from King Charles. Among the new information obtained, special mention may be made of the account of the revenues of the island at the time of its occupation (p. 72), and of the coloured view-plan of the English fort (December, 1665), which is reproduced as the frontispiece of the volume. An account of this plan will be found on p. 67.

Other topics of interest are the appearance of the French as competitors for the Eastern trade: the interloping exploits of the *Love*, which had been sent out under a commission granted by King Charles, and also of a vessel from Sweden: Aurangzeb's proselytizing zeal and its ill-effects upon his Hindu subjects: the introduction of the title of Governor of Madras (pp. 251–3): an account of the Golconda currency (p. 327): the theft by the Dutch from the French traveller Tavernier of the letters he was carrying for the English (pp. 15, 16): a scheme for cultivating indigo at St. Helena with the help of Indians (pp. 18, 30, &c.): a present sent to Charles II from San Thomé, the letter accompanying which is now in the Public Record Office Museum (pp. 112, 131): and some interesting particulars about the library at Surat and of the books which the factors desired to place upon its shelves (p. 162).

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THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

1665–67

EVENTS AT SURAT, 1665

APART from the war with the Dutch, which created much alarm at all the English settlements in the East, two events of first-class importance marked the year 1665, namely, the delivery of the island of Bombay by the Portuguese to the English, and the rebellion of Sir Edward Winter, by which the Company was deprived of the use of Madras for nearly three years. Both of these occurrences will be described in the succeeding chapters; and our present concern is to follow the course of events at the Company's head settlement in Surat.

At the beginning of the year Sir George Oxenden's council consisted, besides himself, of John Goodier, Richard Craddock, and Gerald Aungier. Of these, Craddock went home in the middle of March in the *London*. Nothing worthy of notice occurred until that time, when the *London*, *Royal Charles*, and *Little American*,[1] were at last dispatched to England, sailing in company on 14 March. As we saw in the last volume, their unusually late departure was due to a rumour that war had already broken out between England and Holland; and although these fears had been relieved by later news, the three captains were warned to keep together and be vigilant against possible attacks, either by the Dutch or by the French pirates who were reported to be on their way to the East. Should the vessels be unable to get round the Cape, they were to winter at Mauritius, Réunion, or some other suitable place. They were to call at Bombay, in case Cooke had any letters he desired to send home to the King.

By the first two of these ships was sent a long letter to the Company, dated 12 March, a great part of which was taken up in replying to the Court's letter of 9 March, 1664 (see the last volume,

[1] Called the *American* on pp. 324, 328, &c., of the last volume. She must be discriminated from the vessel of that name which had gone to Madras.

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p. 324). Oxenden and his colleagues reiterated that it was impossible to procure pepper or cassia lignum at Porakād or Quilon, and expressed their fears that soon Kārwār, Bhatkal, and all the neighbouring ports would be closed to them, owing to Dutch aggression. They narrated the voyage of the *Royal Charles* to Porakād, referring to the captain for further details. Oxenden defended himself vigorously in the matter of the *Leopard*; and further averred that both the *Dunkirk* and the *Mary Rose* had been fully laden at Swally. The factory at Kāyal had been made over to the Madras agency. Though they were doing their best, it was impossible to secure that all calicoes should be of the exact dimensions ordered. The Dutch made no trouble about accepting short pieces; and, knowing this, the weavers were careless in the matter.

Wee have, according as advis'd, sent an Indian factor to Agra, Lucknow, etc., the effects whereof we sent you the last yeare. . . . We had noe reason to complain, and therefore continued him in the employment. . . . All we feare is they [i. e. the piece-goods] may be a little too fine for your marketts: which if soe, pray advise. Please to take notice that both those then and these now beare all their charges, which computed amount to nearest 50 per cent., meerly in way charges and duties on the road. We reckon not what other expences you were wont to be at in presents, housekeeping, factors wages, etc. We have inquir'd into what you desire to be advis'd of, in sending your goods by way of the river Ganges, there to be shiped; and are inform'd that the hazard of the way, not being soe beaten a road, is somewhat dangerous, but much more the river Ganges; nor will the charge be much lesse.

The copper received by the last fleet was partly English and partly Japanese (from Bantam). The former was good, but the latter (as would be seen from the sample sent) was much adulterated.

Of the English copper in cakes you cannot send too much. We confesse it raises you not much proffitt; yet it is better then rialls of eight, besides the trouble and inconvenience in procuring them, which you have often complain'd off. You once promis'd us you would not overrate your goods. If you paid for your Bantam copper what you rate it to us, 'tis an abuse to you; for it never cost considerably soe much there in its perfection, when it was not sophisticated by those Bantam Chinezes, a cheate they frequently practice. You still continew your rialls at 5*s.* per riall; and your lead is overrated of what we understand others buy it at.

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Owing to the slow sale of their imported goods, the factors had been forced to borrow money to give out to the weavers.

We are told your former Presidents etc. servants made it a practice to make use of your money, and so enflam'd the accomptt of intrest ; but, excepting Mr. Wiche, we never heard it was practic'd by any.

A promise was given that the permission to borrow when necessary should not be abused.

Your old customer, Virjee Vorah, hath now left you, or rather we him, having found another way to supply your occasions more reasonable ; though we beleive he would now abate you something to have your custome again, for he looses not onely the loane of his money, but the carrying away many a good parcell of goods out of your warehouses, when he found he had gott an advantage on you.

They still held it better to pack the quicksilver in skins and brass pots with small mouths well soldered, for the pots themselves would fetch money. The new method was more expensive, and one of the bottles arrived broken. There was a great loss in weight in other goods ; and the coral must be more carefully packed. The elephants' teeth had at last been sold for what they would fetch. They had had no hesitation in rejecting Shipman's offer of Anjidiv, feeling sure that the Company would not approve of such expenditure.

Your factory of Carwarr we doe continew. It affoords not that quantity of pepper it did formerly. We conceive one reason is the inland factors buying of it up in the places of its growth and not suffer'd to transport it (as formerly) to Hubely, where the greate mart for it was ; and this is caus'd by reason of the scarcity now to the northward, since the Dutch have blockt up all that used to come from the southward, which were noe small quantities. This grand rebell, Sevagy, hath also plundred the said towne of Hubely and spoyld that trade.

Vīrji Vora had been warned about his retention of Bladwell's money ; he denied it stoutly, but was told that he would have to pay it over, sooner or later. The Surat authorities and merchants have been notified of the possibility of the appearance of European pirates.

The present King of Deccan [i. e. Bījāpur] is not at all reguarded,

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being one that is neither of birth or courage, besides his unnaturall behaviour towards his subjects, who unanimously cry out against him for suffring Sevagy to forrage to and fro, burning and robbing his cuntry without any opposition; wherefore it is certainly concluded by all that he shares with the said rebell in all his rapines. Soe that the whole cuntry is in a confus'd condition, merchantts flying from one place to another to preserve themselves; soe that all trade is loss'd.

With respect to negotiations at Delhi,

Wee were indeed working underhand, not only to confirme your present priviledges but make an augmentation to them, and all to be confirm'd by this King that now raignes, under whose signett you have not anything to shew for any one pretence you can make. But we went soe deliberately and securely that nothing but overtures were made on both sides, and noe money given; for we made a plain bargain that, if they did procure you such and such priviledges under the Kings greate seale, we would give them soe much. In the intrim, whilst this was working, your contradictory order came, and soe twas laid aside. We shall endeavour to preserve what you now have; and, though very old and much shaken, yet they will last our time.

The imported goods had, with certain exceptions, sold well. The example of private trade set by the *Chestnut* might have serious consequences.

We intreate you to take speedy care that something may be agreed upon, such as in your wisdomes will prevent our clashing with the souldiery; for they talke high, now that they are come to Bombaim, and we have cause to beleive they will have severall vessails abroad; for we and your affairs are despis'd. Besides, if some instrument of this nature be not speedily sent for prevention, your very factors will revolt, when they may have protection. An example whereof hath lately hapned [see pp. 13, 14]; and you know, when the pale is broken downe, it will be an hard matter to keep any of your servantts to their duties.

As instructed by the Company, they would of course render any assistance in their power to the Bombay garrison, 'provided it be not immediately destructive to you, which we beleive was never intended'. Cooke, however, seemed to construe the Company's letter as including

The loane of money (over and above what is sent out by Alderman Blackwell[1] for His Majesties use) for the fortifying of Bombaim;

[1] An error for 'Backwell' (see the 1655–60 volume, p. 241).

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which we have not your order for, neither doe we know His Majestie expects it. Pray give us your directions in your next how farr we shall proceed in this and what else expressed in this clause; for we begin to be molested already and, if care be not taken, will be dayly aggravated, where there is nothing but cursing and banning against the East India Company, that we are like to live very unquiett lives, unlesse some speedy order come for prevention thereof.

Little could be done to press the sale of broadcloth. The demand at Surat was very regular; if more were sent, the only result would be to lessen the value.

Some parte of what sould to the merchant last yeare is still remayning, but carry'd soe farr up into the country that it doeth not hinder the sale of this now sent, because not seen. We find it very advantageous to you to sell it off thus at a lump; for they transport it very remote up into the country and follow armies with it, for a merchant is free here to buy and sell in an enemies camp unmolested; and yet, whilst upon the way, they are in greate danger of being robb'd. And all this for small proffitt; for they reckon what is gotten above the common intrest of ¾ per cent. [per month] is good gaine.

The 'perpetuanas' sent last year had sold, except some blues ('a colour in this cuntry they by noe meanes affect'). A similar consignment of reds and greens would prove reasonably profitable; but they should be of somewhat lower quality than the last. A small quantity of cloth rashes of the same colours would doubtless sell. Of Lahore indigo they could only procure sixty bales, though it cost upwards of 4*s*. per lb. The required quantity of Sarkhej indigo had been obtained, 'but excessive deare, as the other.' They would do their best to secure future supplies at a lower price. The Agra and Lucknow piece-goods sent would be found of excellent quality and of full dimensions.

You also desire us to increase the number of blew broad baftas; which we have endeavour'd, as also the narrow. But the only time is in the rains, when all the merchants have dispers'd themselves to Mocha, Bussora, Persia, Achein, etc., to make sale of their severall cargas, and returne again in September and November to bespeake new investments; from which time all the dyers, beaters, weavers, and washers are soe employ'd that we can hardly gett your businesse done for the seasonable dispatch of your ships.

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As desired, a quantity of lac had been put aboard the ships.

We have often spoke to the commanders of your ships to stow them in convenient places, where the heate may not injure them, but we cannot prevaile; for seed lack, they say, is kintlage and must be laid as low as they can; the next, stick lack; but the shell lack they will not stow in hold (if they can help it), it being a light, kixey[1] commodity.

With regard to 'Kirmaun wooll', a year's time must be allowed for its procurement. Saltpetre was still at a high price—4½ rupees per maund at least. Cowries had not been asked for, and in any case none could be got. Ebony wood was not a regular article of commerce at Surat; and they knew of no other unprohibited commodity suitable for kentledge. The factors begged therefore to be informed what goods the Company had in mind for this purpose, to fulfil the conditions of the charter-parties. It was also pointed out that they were told to expect 800 tons of shipping, whereas these three ships could take about 1,150. Moreover, of the 800 tons about 300 were to consist of pepper and cassia lignum; and these failing, it had been necessary to increase the proportions of the other goods demanded. The payments on account of Rainsford's estate had been made; but the creditors, while appreciating the justice done to them, begged to be allowed also 'the intrest of the cuntry', and the request was considered by the factors to be reasonable.

This your kindnesse to them hath been soe noys'd abroad that we have been much troubled with sollicitations of sevrall to recommend their deplorable conditions unto you, as persons ruin'd by their trust impos'd in English men; some are deceas'd, and others gone to England and according to promise made them noe returnes. These petitioners are soe numerous, but we have given them their answer, that you had declar'd your selves many yeares since that neither you nor your President and Councell should be answerable for any debts contracted by any single persons, though they were your owne servantts, such debts being contracted for the carrying on of private trade, which you have all along in generall termes prohibited. And we beseech you to hold to these your resolutions, that neither you nor we be oblig'd to concerne our selves in disputes and differences that shall arise between particular men and their banians; else will it be employment sufficient to take up our whole

[1] An old word meaning dry and brittle.

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time. And also you your selves will be thought to be engag'd in it, in reguard we act as publike persons in your behalf.

Turning to the subject of Persia, the writers said that no goods belonging to the Company had been lost in the *Seaflower*. With regard to the proposal (see the last volume, p. 319) to remunerate the Gombroon factors by a commission only, it was thought that a mistake had been made in the reference to their selling goods on behalf of the Company, inasmuch as the latter had forbidden any port to port trade, except for the provision of goods for England. As to the best means of recovering the arrears of the Gombroon customs the President and Council had already expressed their opinions; but Craddock, who was returning to England, would be able to furnish full information upon this and other points. Regret was expressed that the Bantam factors should have sent the *Surat Frigate* to Surat with a cargo of rubbish that could only be sold at a loss. The tortoise-shell had had all the good pieces picked out; while the benzoin was so poor that it would not fetch half the invoiced price. For this reason, and because it would serve as kentledge, it was being sent to England, where the Company would see 'how your factors have wrong'd you'. Mohun went home in the *Loyal Merchant*, and South was allowed to go back to Bantam in the *Surat Frigate*, on condition that he proceeded to England from thence. Oxenden and his colleagues protested ignorance of any private trade carried to Bantam in the *Convertine*, and declared that they had failed to find any one at Surat interested therein. Report said that the goods were Bladwell's, but no particulars could be ascertained. The *Surat Frigate* had not returned from Bantam, having been sent from thence to China; and no one in Surat was expecting any returns for goods sent in the *Convertine*. Answer had already been made to Lady Lambton's allegations. Her son John's goods were all made over to his brothers, who were freely permitted to examine the papers relating thereto. The estate in India would show a large deficit, but the chief part must be in England, as the proceeds of goods bought at Surat with borrowed money. It would be well if the Company would attach that, in order to obtain a dull discharge; for the brothers were threatening Oxenden and his colleagues with actions in England. For what Tulsi Dās owed the Company, Matthew

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Andrews was declared to be responsible; in any case the former was heavily indebted and could not pay. After mentioning one or two minor matters, the letter proceeded to record an increased demand for coral. A long account was given of the purchase of the *Loyal Welcome* and *Hopewell* from Andrews, and the latter's version was declared to be false. As for Oxenden making any profit out of them, he declared that for the *Hopewell* he paid to the Company over 22,640 rupees, and then found her to be in such a rotten condition that he was glad to sell her for 14,000 rupees.[1] It was true that he had had two years' use of the vessel, but he did not recover even the interest of the money she had cost. Of the two men ordered home, Commins was returning via Bantam, and Swift died at Surat in June, 1664. Andrews' agent did not manage to get aboard the ships. Belli and Callender arrived safely, and the former proceeded to Persia. Of the seven Moors only four had survived. The principal had spoken very handsomely of the English and of the Company's treatment of him, promising to remit from Mokha the money advanced to him. Rolt did not deny the charge of private trade; but he affirmed that he could justify himself, and he was going home in the *Royal Charles* for that purpose. His behaviour while in India was warmly praised, and a hope was expressed that he would be re-employed. Robert Sainthill was also returning in the same ship, and was likewise recommended to the Company's favour. The two Armenians had duly arrived. It was impossible at such short notice to comply with the increased requisitions for goods, but the factors had done their best. The date in the charter-parties for dispatching the ships should be altered from 10 to 20 January, as their cargoes could not be ready earlier. With regard to the charges of evading the customs duties at Surat on treasure, the letter frankly admitted the practice and defended it, at the same time vindicating the claim of the factors to appropriate any saving resulting therefrom.

Wee beleive it not only a practice here, but in all parts where merchants have trade, gold and fine goods are landed with as much privacy as may be, especially where customes are demanded, and likewise save them if they can, without dishonour or disrepute.

[1] Thevenot (*Suite du Voyage*, ed. 1727, vol. iii. p. 594) says that the *Hopewell* was sold to Khwāja Minaz for 16,000 rupees. Thevenot sailed in her from Basra to Surat, where he arrived at the beginning of 1666.

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And whereas you thinke it will redound soe much to your discreditt that it is not publikely knowne, we assure you the contrary, and that times are now soe dangerous that the privacy of it will be both for your and our safeties; for we are now forc'd to keep a continuall watch in the house to prevent being robb'd, and the knowledge of your having soe much gold would be a good baite to invite the rogues to doe it. That you should be any way injur'd by such private conveighance there is noe reason. It was indeed one cause of Mr. Andrews and the Governors differing; but the reasons are plain, for it was his usuall practice to doe it as it were by force, publikely and at noon day, when the whole towne took notice of it and cry'd shame on him. Else he might have passt cleare without any offence; but it was his practice to doe all things by violence, which otherwise he might have brought about by discreet and sober management. There is hazard and adventure in conveighing such things up privately; for which if they tooke but the just customes, we conceive you had noe wrong done you. But as for what you motion, that we endeavour fairely to compound for the full custome of such treasure, and to bring the duty downe as low as we can, using such arguments as we conceive may induce thereto, and also threaten to send it to other ports if they will not abate us something, we answer that, had we all the gifts of perswasion imaginable, it would not in the least worke on these people; for it is death if they should consent to the abatement of anything the King setts downe to be received for custome. It is more then the Governor himselfe dares doe. We must pay all or none. And whereas you say, if we pay it not, you require noe more be brought to accomptt then is really paid, we pray you who shall beare the adventure in the intrim? Your President sayes he once, whilst he was a voyager in the Redd Sea, lost a considerable parcell of gold, which he had taken of an Indian to convay free of custome and to that intent delivered it to a third person to bring up to Surratt, who runne away and cheated your President of the whole parcell, which he made good to the owner. Examples of these kinds often happen. Scarce a yeare passes but some of these merchants are loosers by these practices; and yet they will not suffer their gold to goe into the custome house if they can help it, although they bring many hundred thousand pounds from Bussora, Persia, and the Redd Sea yearly. And this the Governor and all know; yet they are not molested for it.

After declaring that Edward Flyer's estate had all been cleared, the factors proceeded to refer briefly to three other letters received from the Company, and then to denounce the action of Matthew Andrews in hiring on his own account 'an old and insufficient

junck', the *Mahmudi*, in 1660, and dispatching her to Achin with a freight including some goods belonging to the Company (see the 1655–60 volume, p. 312). This vessel was stranded on her return near the mouth of the Narbada, and only a portion of her lading was recovered by divers; yet the Company was charged by Andrews with the freight, though he had broken his instructions in lading the Company's goods on a country vessel. Reference was next made to some brass cannon which had long been on hand; instructions were solicited whether to return them to England or melt them down, in which case the return might be about a shilling per lb. A diamond ring belonging to the late John Lambton, recovered from his brother Richard, was sent home. A chief mate (John Burgess) and certain sailors had been supplied to the *Little American*, and a cooper (Joseph Field) to the *London*.

Wee have already advis'd that the rebell Sevagy continews in greate power and force, and much fear'd by all. He hath committed many notorious and greate robberies since that of Surratt, and hath possessed himselfe of the most considerable ports belonging to Deccan, to the number of eight or nine; from whence he setts out two or three or more trading vessails yearely from every port to Persia, Bussora, Mocha, etc. [So] that you have a faire opportunity. Had we some nimble going vessails of 150 tunns and upward, we might (did we make it our businesse) certainly meet with some of the aforesaid trading vessails and recover your right; and also otherwise soe employ them that there may not be any losse to you. Which proposition of ours please to take into your serious consideration.

The cargoes of the three ships were invoiced as follows: *London*, 282,254 rupees; *Royal Charles*, 314,718 rupees; *Little American*, 25,058 rupees. Additional claims upon Andrews came to 1,634 rupees. The expenses at Surat and Swally for 1663–64 had amounted to 14,446 rupees, as compared with 16,615 rupees the previous year. Recoveries had been made from Anthony Smith 'for his extravagant expenses at Mocha' and for the money he had wrongly drawn from the United Joint Stock for salary. A debt due from Nicholas Buckeridge had been transferred to England, 'where he desires to make it good'. George Davies's account was referred home for rectification; and orders were solicited regarding certain other debts. Thomas Coates's account of expenses in Siam was

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forwarded; and his claim for salary was recommended for consideration. An account of John Lambton's estate was also supplied. Finally,

Wee desire you to send us halfe a dozen youths of meane parentage, who write good hands and shall be willing to be employ'd upon all occasions without murmuring.

This letter was supplemented by another, very brief, dated 13 March, and sent in the *Little American*. The only information worth noting is that the vessel had aboard her seven slaves, brought from Madagascar, and these the captain had orders to put ashore at St. Helena. A note dated the following day advised the arrival of a 'curry curry' from Goa with letters for Europe, which had been delivered to the commanders of the ships.

Oxenden sent by the fleet a letter of 11 March to the Governor of St. Helena, advising the consignment to him of some arrack and rice, four sheep, and 'a lamb of the Arabian cast, which are of greate valew in Persia, by reason of the curl'd wooll of the lambs'; also a bag of seeds from Persia.

A letter of 27 March from Surat to the factors at Porakād reflects the anxiety felt by the President and Council on the subject of the rumoured war between England and Holland.

Here is lately arriv'd a Dutch ship from Persia; but we have not received any Europe news by her, nor will the Dutch owne any. The report is that the differences betwixt us and Holland stand as they did, and that their embassador labours much at Whitehall for peace; but nothing is concluded on, nor will anything satisfy but restitution for wrongs received and affronts putt upon our nation, and security that His Majesties subjects be not molested in their trade for the future. Nor will he trust them, but is resolv'd to treate with his sword in his hand, keeping his navy royall to waite their motion, that he may take the first opportunity to fall on them. A few dayes since this Commander [1] sent mee a paper, wrote in brokers English but a Dutch hand and character, dated in Brussells the 15 August last past, wherein they advise of a greate overthrow the Turkes have received from the Emperor of Germany and the Confederate Princes, in a battle lately fought, wherein were slaine 13,000 Turkes on the place and many besides kill'd in pursuite.[2] The other news was that the Guinny Adventurers of the Hollands Company had made greate complaints to the Generall States of

[1] The Dutch chief at Surat.

[2] This seems to refer to the battle of Lewa, in July, 1664.

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their suffrings in Guinny by the English Royal Company, who are very victorious there, having taken sevrall ships and castles from them. This paper sayes it is beleiv'd the States will affoord their merchants noe releife; others say they will send 12 or 14 ships thither, if they can procure men to manne them, which is thought they will not be able to doe; all the people flying thence to shunne the plague, which raignes soe hott at the Hague that none dare abide but such as have some extraordinary ty on them; which, if true, is noe badd news for us.

On the day after this letter was written, Oxenden convened his council to consider whether in this state of uncertainty it would be wise to continue ordering piece-goods. It was resolved to go on with the investment, as otherwise the weavers would contract with the Dutch and other merchants, and be unable to work for the English until they had discharged their liabilities.

On 31 March occurred an opportunity of sending a letter overland to the Company. This enclosed copies of the letters forwarded by the fleet, and directed special attention to the information received from Porakād of the Dutch encroachments there, which threatened the existence of that factory. The minister at Surat (L'Escaliot) was recommended for an increase of salary to the amount enjoyed by his predecessor. It was stated that one Dutch ship had arrived from Persia (whence another was daily expected), two from Batavia, one from Cochin, and one from Japan.

From the ship that came from Persia your President received a particular letter from Mr. Flower, wherein he mentions to have received from Aleppo a pacquet from you; and he hath been soe indiscreet as not to contrive its convaighance to us, on a peremptory report cast out by the Dutch that they would search the passengers and lumber for English letters. But had he been soe ingenious as he ought, the letters might have been sent with that privacy that their search should have been to noe purpose. But his feares blinded his reason; by which we are kept ignorant of your commands, which doth very much trouble us.

The letter then launched out into a strong denunciation of Anthony Smith, who, angered by the refunds he had been forced to make, was giving much trouble. His misdeeds at Mokha were related at length; also his attempt to bribe Oxenden (see the last volume, p. 207).

A more atheisticall wretch never was suffer'd to live on the

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earth. . . . Att the rebell Sevagys being here he fell into his hands; and after his releasment would (as we are credibly inform'd) have betray'd your house, estate, and servantts up to him; and this is avowch'd by him that was appointed to write the letter which was intended to be sent the rebell. . . . For these, and other misdemeanours to tedious to enlarge on here, we warn'd him home to answer to you; which he promis'd to doe, but intended it not, exempting himselfe at the ships departure; whereby he hath also despis'd our commands, and now talkes of nothing but serving the King at Bombaim, which we perceive will be the receptacle of all those that abuse you and your servantts, presuming that entring themselves in His Majesties service will be sufficient defence for them against you; and therefore it will concerne you to take timely care to prevent it before you become too great sufferers. And also send your order how we shall proceed against this Smith. Wee are again sollicited by our Bengall freinds for procury of a phirmaund for the better carrying on their businesse; declaring they are very much injur'd and molested in those parts, and also makes it be very expensive to you in bribes. . . . We have return'd them the answer you sent us, for without greate expences nothing is to be done at court; and soe much they declare to be very sensible off. They say they will write you concerning this; but it will be to very little purpose, since now it will be much more difficult then when we first moov'd it to you. For then having an opportunity by our intimacy with the then Governor and his covetous disposition to gett money, that he would have oblig'd himselfe to procure all we should reasonably aske of the King before he should receive anything from us;[1] which we accounted a sure and good bargaine, whereas often much money is spent and nothing effected. We very much fear our want of a sollicitor at courte will loose you the immunity of the halfe customes formerly graunted you, as we have allready advis'd, for want of getting it confirm'd under the Kings seale; and not this alone, but much more had beene procur'd, could we have obtain'd licence from you to be at some expence. One thing we are lately inform'd of by some Malabar vessails, which is, that the Dutch are much offended at our settling a factory at Callicutt; which prooves soe greate an eyesoare to them that they refuse to give passes to the inhabitants that are merchantts and trade to Surratt, Mocha, Bussora, Muscatt, etc., giving their reason because they have received the English and sell them pepper. Which we beseech you to take notice of, that soe some speedy course may be taken, before you loose all, never to be recover'd again; for, if it should once appear that they

[1] In a letter from Surat to Hūgli of 12 April, 1665, the sum promised to the Governor is given as '15 or 20,000 rupees'.

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have all the power and you none, you may bid adiew to all trade in these parts, and others too.

Petitions were forwarded from two young men, Henry Bromfield and John Child (afterwards the famous Sir John).

They having beene actually in your service, the one 8, the other 7 yeares, as voyagers and inland assistants, without any other consideration more then their dyett, doe now in all humility tender themselves, beseeching you to consider them for the future with such sallary as you shall thinke their expence of time and experience may deserve. We doe assure you they are very sober young men, and we are confident of their obedience, that we dare promise and engage they will doe you faithfull and good service, and are now here on the place without any further charge to you. Wee also make it our request that you would please that these may be two of the four we have sent for. And if they were six, we could disperse them to the subordinate factories, which want in each a young youth, besides the recruiting your office here.

Since Craddock's departure rumours had been current that in Persia he was 'too greedy to fill his owne purse, by which yours was kept empty'; and on examining the copies of his accounts there had appeared 'strange extravagancies'. The Company was accordingly warned to look into the matter; meanwhile inquiries were being made of the Persia factors. Finally, a chest of medicines was asked for.

In the same packet went home a list of the Company's servants. Of these fifteen were at Surat, viz. Oxenden, Goodier, Aungier, the Rev. John L'Escaliot, Matthew Gray, Randolph Taylor, Nicholas Scrivener, Robert Ward (surgeon), Streynsham Master, Valentine Nurse, Richard Hardres, Henry Oxenden, Charles Bendish, Henry Chown, and John Petit; two 'on Swally Maryne', viz. Charles James and Richard Francis; two at Gombroon, viz. Stephen Flower and Edward Swinglehurst; three at Kārwār, viz. Robert Master, Philip Giffard, and Caesar Chamberlain; two at Porakād, viz. John Harrington and Alexander Grigby;[1] two at Calicut, viz. Charles Smeaton and Robert Barbor; and one (Thomas Hoskins) at Broach. The list included William Horner, trumpeter, and Richard Sampson, drummer, both at Surat; also Henry Gary and Richard Ball, both 'gon off to Bombay'.

[1] In previous volumes this name has been given as Grigsby

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On 5 April yet another letter was sent to the Company, under the care of Ensign Thorne, who was going home via Basra with letters from Bombay. It merely stated that the accounts had been balanced to 30 November, 1664, and enclosed a letter received from Masulipatam.

Some time in April apparently, an agreement was signed with 'Peru Hingola [Pīru Hingola], of the Jooneja [Jhunjār?] cast', for the provision of piece-goods from Agra, etc. It followed generally the lines of the previous contract (see the last volume, p. 189), except that the commission was to be 10 per cent. only.

On 26 April a letter was dispatched to Benjamin Clopton at Achin, in answer to one in which he had 'passionately resented' the demand for an account of the estate of the late Francis Cobb. The President and Council said that, in so doing, they were merely carrying out the standing orders of the Company, but that, if he mistrusted their integrity, he had better remit the estate to England himself. Their declaration, in a letter to the Queen, that he was no longer the Company's servant, was defended on the ground that it was true; and he was told that, in view of the complaints made on behalf of the Queen regarding his conduct there, no other course was possible. Clopton replied, justifying himself, in a long letter dated at Masulipatam 6 August.

The arrival of a vessel from Persia on 2 May led the President and Council to imagine that they would now at last receive the eagerly expected letters from the Company so long detained at Gombroon; but once again they were disappointed. The story is told in their letter to Kārwār of 23 May.

> Wee have long waited for Europe news, and also detain'd this your expresse for that intent; who had not attended soe long, had not we been trecherously dealt with by our enemies the Dutch, who, having advice from Aleppo that all at home went not soe well on their sides as expected, have circumvented us of our letters, thereby intending to keep us in the darke. And this was plotted by the Commander of Persia [1] and one Taverneir, a Frenchman,

[1] Hendrik van Wyk. For other accounts of the incident see the Surat consultation of 4 May, 1665, and the Surat letter home of 1 January, 1666. In the latter Tavernier is stigmatized as 'a Dutchified Frenchman . . . who hath made severall journeys overland to buy dyamonds and soe return'd via Aleppo . . . having received many civilities from your servants here and also his passage gratis to and from Persia in your ships severall times'; and he is denounced as 'perfidious and ingratefull', though it is admitted that when the trick was

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that was suppos'd to be of more integrity. To him Mr. Flower delivers our Europe letters, as well those from the Company as all particulers [i. e. private letters] that were arrived to him from Aleppo. This Taverneir had noe sooner received them but went to the Dutch house, and wheather willfully betray'd his trust or overcome with drinke, we know not; but soe it was that the pacquett was convaighed away and another made up in the same forme, fill'd up with white paper, sent us by the said French villain at his coming ashoare; which did not a little trouble us. But, thanks be to God, there is another vessail since arriv'd, that hath brought us another pacquett from our honourable masters of the 11th August (but noe particuler letters). The Consull of Aleppo sends us later news that the warr 'twixt us and Holland is certainly broke out, and that we have already taken 120 sayle of their ships.

discovered, he 'seem'd to make it as greate a wonder as ourselves, and would not seem to know any otherwise but that it was a cheate and an abuse putt upon him in his drinke by the Dutch Commander in Persia'. The incident is referred to at some length on p. 439 of the report of the Historical MSS. Commission on the Finch MSS. (vol. i).

Tavernier's version will be found at p. 164 of vol. ii of his *Travels*, as translated by V. Ball. He alleges that the packet was stolen from him while asleep on board the ship before her departure, and that this was planned by Van Wyk, who imagined that the letters contained later information than he had received concerning the situation in Europe. That Tavernier was innocent of any complicity is suggested by the fact that he sent from Surat a formal complaint to the Governor-General at Batavia, demanding reparation (*ibid.*, p. 168, and *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, pp. 323–4). Van Wyk's responsibility for the theft is admitted in his own letter to Batavia (see the *Dagh-Register*, pp. 321, 323), which confesses that the results were small, owing to the want of a translator.

A letter from Gombroon to Surat of 10 April says: 'On this vessell [the *Harry*] goes Monsieur Taverneer a Frenchman (with three or four Dutch men), who came a few dayes since from Spahan, having sold the King to the value of 4,000 tomands and upwards in jewells and other rarities brought with him out of Europe; with which the King hath received so great content that, besides a rich cullate [*khilat*] given him, with 50 tomands, he hath bestowed on him his phirmaund for his free egresse and regresse with his goods, free of all customes and other duties throughout all his dominions. The same honour he hath done to Signor David Bazeu, Dutchman, who will follow him to India in the next shipp; both being designed to proceed for the Mogulls court, to dispose of the rest of their commodities, of which they have allready made extraordinary proffit. From Spahaun our last letters (in March) advise the King made very great preparations for the entertainement of the Indian embassadour. . . . By way of Candahor is arrived lately at Spahaun neare 1000 camells load of cloth and indico, which hath caused said commoditie to fall in price 15 per cent.; the bazar of all sorts of Indian commodities being at present very low for want of buyers, most of the principall merchants being lately dead. But this least concernes us, who are only spectatours; the Dutch in all parts (to our sorrow) are now the sole actours.'

Tavernier's own account of the *farmān* he received will be found in his *Voyages* (1676), vol. i. p. 464. For Bazu see Tavernier (ed. Ball, vol. ii. p. 126), Jean de Thevenot (*Suite du Voyage*, 1727, vol. v. pp. 216, 319, 322), and the *Report on the Finch MSS.*, vol. i. p. 493

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The letter stolen by the Dutch was one from the Company of 11 August, 1664, of which, as stated above, another version arrived shortly after (on 15 May, in fact). It will be found in vol. iii of the *Letter Books* (p. 423). After recording the arrival of various ships from the East, it informed the President and Council that the question of peace and war still hung in the balance.

A treaty is continued; but wee very much doubt what will bee the issue, for that His Majestie is very sencible of the greate wrongs done his marchants, espetially in the East Indies, and declares that hee will have sattisfaction for past injuries and good termes of security to prevent the like for the future; and the Dutch, on the other side, pretend greate damages that they have susteyned in Africa and elce where from the English; and whither things will bee amicably agreed wee know not, for there is greate endeavours to get shipps in readinesse on both sides; which puts us in doubt what to advise you in relation to our future affaires. But wee renew what wee writt you in the preceeding coppie as to the security and preservation of our estates.

Should peace be preserved, the usual supply of shipping and stock would be sent out, and detailed instructions would be forwarded overland; but for the present the factors should not arrange to provide more than 250 tons of goods. In the event of war, probably only one ship would be dispatched, and she would be directed to some safe port near Surat, to which the factors could then forward the goods provided. Instructions were next given as to the commodities to be purchased, viz. various kinds of piece-goods, pepper, indigo, cardamoms, cowries, coffee (5 tons),[1] and olibanum, with cinnamon and cassia lignum, if procurable. In the case of indigo, the Lahore sort must not cost more than about a rupee, and the Sarkhej about a mahmūdi, per lb. No saltpetre was wanted, unless obtainable at the price previously indicated. The Company's claims against Matthew Andrews were still being considered by the referees, and any additional charges should be sent home without loss of time. The factors were praised for their defence of the Company's house against Sivāji, and a promise was given that rewards to those recommended would be considered.

There is greate endeavours to erect a French East India Company, which receives greate encouragment from their King and a very

[1] Here (as elsewhere) it is probable that the shipping ton (approximately 60 cubic feet of cargo space) is meant, not the ton weight.

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large stock is allreadie subscribed, and they intend to send out shipps this insueing yeare. What it will produce wee are uncerteyne. If they shall come into your parts, all that you have to doe is that you take care that nothing bee done on your part that may tend to a breach betweene us, nor to their encouragment.

The resolution to sell the *Swally* pinnace was approved, and a positive order was given that all local vessels belonging to the Company should be disposed of as soon as possible. Whilst thus emphasizing their determination not to re-embark in the port to port trade, the Committees could not refrain from exhibiting some jealousy of their factors' participation therein.

For the encouragment of our President, when hee went forth, wee gave him some freedome of trade in the country; which wee had hoped would have beene used with such moderation as not at all to have byn prejuditiall to us. But wee heare from many hands that there is a very greate trade ingaged in, and that there hath beene losse of some shipps; which causeth us now to desire you to take care that that permission may not take up your minds and time soe as to neglect the Companies affaires, nor to imploy their stock, nor by running hazards which, if losses should bee greate, might redownd to their prejudice; or that by your greate trading the prices of those comodities which wee write for should bee enhaunced or lessned in their proportions; for wee impute the want of a full suply of callicoes unto those provisions you made for the carrying on of your perticuler trade.

Finally, the letter harked back to the question of the possibility of war with Holland.

Wee would not have you conclude that it will absolutly bee soe; or, if it should, wee would not have you discouraged, for that wee hope it will bee to bring your insolent and incroaching neighbours to better termes, that wee may in the future have more freedome in our comerce in your parts without their interuption.

A postscript repeated former orders for the supply to St. Helena of rice and arrack; also of a small quantity of indigo seed 'and a black or twoe that knowes how to sow it'. In addition, the factors were bidden to consider 'what was written you by the Deputy [i. e. Thomas Kendall] in his private letters concerning Bombay'. These documents are not extant.

The instructions thus given had been to a considerable extent anticipated by a consultation held on 4 May, when it was decided

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to proceed with the investment of the money in hand, as this was held to be much more to the Company's advantage than to retain it ' in our howse, which being knowne might give occation to thieves to attempt it '.

The next communication received from the Company was one which came to hand on 11 August. It was dated 24 December, 1664, and had been sent out in the ships bound for the Coromandel Coast, whence it was transmitted to its destination. It will be found entered in *Letter Books*, vol. iii, p. 461. After announcing the appointment of a new Agent at Fort St. George, the Committees plunged straight into the subject of the relations between England and Holland.

> It is soe farr from a composure (notwithstanding an open warr is not yet proclaimed) that on both sides they make seizure of shipps. His Majesties fleete hath beene out at sea some weekes to attend the Dutch, whoe are not yet come out. Wee hope the Almighty will soe order this affaire as to bring that insulting nation not only to render full sattisfaction for all past injuries and wrongs done to this nation, but also cause them to conforme to better termes for the future.

The factors were warned to be on their guard accordingly. Two ships would probably be sent to Surat about the end of January to bring away the goods already ordered, to which should be added 100 or 150 tons of saltpetre at the current price. They would take out cargoes amounting to about 20,000*l.* After dispatching them homewards, the factors, if they found that hostilities still continued, must lessen their expenditure in all possible ways, by reducing factories, selling off goods, etc. Any money in hand should be lent out at interest on good security.

Three days after the receipt of this letter, Oxenden and his Council considered a request from Madras for a supply of 10,000*l.* to enable that Agency to lade for England the *Greyhound* and the *American*, it being urged that money could not be borrowed on the Coast and, if it were procurable, the rate of interest would be nearly double that necessary at Surat. As a preliminary, Randolph Taylor was admitted to the Council as fourth member. It was then decided to refuse the application, for, in the first place,

> Money is not now procurable at interest here, as in former times; for since Sevages robery of this towne those eminent merchants

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who were wont to furnish the Companyes occations are disabled, and would rather take up moneys to supply their owne; they are generally so disjoynted in their credits and estates that they will not trust one the other.

Secondly, although there was a good stock in hand (about 43,000*l.*), the Council was of opinion that it would all be needed at Surat; and thirdly, express instructions from the Company were deemed necessary before shifting any stock from one side of India to the other. An answer to this effect was dispatched to Fort St. George on 17 August. At a subsequent consultation (1 September) it was resolved to lend part of the funds in hand to certain 'merchants of a cleare reputation', at the current rate of interest ('half per cent. [per month] or what more procurable').

On 4 September the *African*, of about 240 tons, commanded by Thomas Harman,[1] arrived at the mouth of the Tāpti, bringing a letter from the Company dated 17 March. This answered those dispatched from Surat on 28 January and 4 April, 1664,[2] which had reached London on 2 February following. The action taken by the President and Council in regard to affairs in Persia was approved; but dissatisfaction was expressed with Craddock's proceedings, and he was ordered to come home. It was left to Oxenden and his colleagues to make any arrangements they thought fit for obtaining piece-goods from Agra, though the re-establishment of a factory there was forbidden. As regards the charges made against Gary, while not doubting the impartiality of the President and Council, the Committees desired to be supplied with fuller details. His request that his arrears of salary should be paid to his assigns had been communicated to the representatives of the United and Fourth Joint Stocks for their consideration, but as regards the current stock it was refused. The favour shown to two of Col. Rainsford's creditors was not to be taken as a precedent; and Oxenden was directed to

Give publique notice to the Banians, etc., that . . . in the future wee shall not countenance or asist any person that shall lend their monies to any of our people, but that on the contrary wee absolutly forbidd them to practize the same.

[1] For brief summaries, by Harman, of the voyages, out and home, of the *African*, see Brit. Mus. *Harleian MS.* 4252.

[2] See the preceding volume, pp. 207, 298, 320.

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In packing aloes, care should be taken that the bladders be placed 'one upon another in severall lards[1] in chests', broken bladders being excluded, as their contents would run out and cake into a lump. Such commodities as aloes and lac were to be placed in the uppermost part of the hold, to avoid their being melted by the heat. The coffee last received was found to have a quantity of 'black and rotten coffee in the midst of the bales'; this must be prevented in future. Note was taken of the offer by the Queen of Achin of exclusive trade in her ports, on condition of being protected against the Dutch.

As things now stand, wee cannot undertake either the one or the other; but when it shall please God that differences are composed and trade open, wee shall take it into our considerations and give some directions. Wee have, according to your desires, enquired of Mr. Andrewes concerning the letter and present which was sent from the said Queene to our Kings Majestie; whose answere was that, in reguard the present sent was inconsiderable and that you in Surratt refused to receive it into your posession, hee therefore did not deliver it to us, but presented it himselfe, togither with her letter, to His Majestie. Wee have also waited on His Majestie, whoe confirmeth the receipt of them from Mr. Andrewes and hath given direction to retorne an answere to the Queenes letter; but wee know not whither it will bee ready to come upon these our intended shipping.

The maintenance of the factory at Porakād was approved, that being a port 'which wee would not willingly loose'; the merchants there were to be instructed to 'continue in a waiteing posture' for the present, using the utmost frugality in their expenses. The services rendered by Goodier, as also by Aungier, Salisbury, and others, were duly appreciated and would be borne in mind, but no immediate increase of salary could be granted. Some sword-blades and knives were sent for the Captain of Surat Castle, as desired; also a supply of knives, etc., for presents, and a chest of 'chirurgery'. The claims against Chhota Thākur and Somaji Chitta were left to the President and Council to settle in an equitable manner. A hope was expressed that better climatic conditions had enabled the factors to make a full investment in calicoes and other goods; also that means had been found to provide a good quantity of pepper and cassia lignum. Since it was thought

[1] Probably an error for 'lares' (i. e. layers).

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that lowering the price of broadcloth would not conduce to a larger sale, the Company agreed that no reduction should be made. Lady Lambton was still dissatisfied about her son's estate, and had asked that her two other sons might be permitted to come home. They should be ordered to England accordingly; and assistance should be given in recovering any outstanding debts due to John Lambton's estate. The *Surat Frigate* was sent on from Bantam to Macassar, but the result of her voyage was not yet known.

'This newes came to us by some of the people that came in the shipp *Royal Oake* from Bantam about the latter end of July; but it pleased God that on the 18th of January last she was cast away upon the rocks neare Silly, an hower before day breake and all her goods lost, with 19 of her men. Shee had on bord her 35 tonns of saltpeetre, 9 or 10 tonns of cashia lignum, and the rest of her ladeing in pepper.[1]

Satisfaction was expressed at the concessions regarding customs made by the Emperor in recognition of the defence made by the English at Surat against Sivāji, and a promise was given that rewards to those who had thus distinguished themselves would be considered 'in a convenient time'. 'The Company had hoped that the differences between England and Holland would have been so far settled as to encourage them to send out a full proportion of ships and goods; but 'finding preparations to increase more and more and seizure of shipps on both sides, and the Parliament haveing furnished His Majestie, in order to the vindication of the honnor and righting of the kingdome against the Dutch, to the amount of about five and twenty hundred thousand pounds sterling; and feareing, though things may bee heere composed, that the Dutch, according to their former customes, may goe on in doeing harme and mischeife in India [i.e. the East Indies]', they had thought it wise to restrict their ships for Surat to two, viz. the *African* and the *St. George* (under Robert Lord). On these vessels they had sent a total of 16,587*l.*, in broadcloth (6,992*l.*), copper (2,598*l.*), quicksilver (3,575*l.*), vermilion (1,952*l.*), coral (1,121*l.*), brimstone (107*l.*), swordblades and knives (147*l.*), wine (50*l.*), and chirurgery

[1] For the loss of this ship see *Pepys's Diary* (ed. Wheatley, vol. iv. p. 353), and *Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company*, 1664–67, pp. 125, etc.

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(45*l.*).[1] These ships on arrival should be immediately unladen and such goods as might be in readiness for export should be put on board. They should then proceed at once to a port[2] at which they would be safe, and arrangements should be made to send further cargo to them there, for which purpose small vessels might be hired, if necessary. They should then sail for England as speedily as possible. The commanders should be warned to be careful in going into St. Helena, 'least the Dutch may have surprized the island or may there seize upon them'. As the goods already ordered in the letters sent overland would not suffice to fill the two ships, it was left to the discretion of the President and Council to increase the quantities in any suitable manner. If possible, the vessels should be dispatched in October, so as to reach home by the spring. They should put into the first port in the west of England, unless they meet with news of peace.

Wee desire to ease our selves of all superfluous charges whatsoever, and espetially during this time of warr. Therefore wee would willingly that all our factors whose times are expired might take their passage for England on these shipps. But if, by the aparancy of danger in their retorne, they shall rather desire to continue in India till times of more security, wee then order that they shall all remaine upon theire owne charge, and not at all upon ours. And during their stay wee lycense that they may improve what estates they have in lawfull and honest tradeing, such as may not bee any waies to our damage.

Robert Sainthill was recalled at his father's request. The two ships were to be laden to their full capacities, 'soe as they may bee jocound to saile through the seaes and capeable to defend themselves'. It was ordered that the estates of all persons dying in the Presidency should be realized and the proceeds paid into the Company's cash, and that all wills and papers relating to the estates should be sent home yearly. This was to apply even to cases in which an executor on the spot had been appointed. Inquiry was made as to the estate of John Atkins, who died at Achin. Further evidence (if available) was desired as to the charges against

[1] As in previous cases, these values are given to the nearest pound. A postscript added to this list lead to the value of 1,707*l.*, making a total of 18,294*l.* The consignment was also alluded to in a separate note to Surat, dated 27 March.

[2] The name of which is left blank. Probably on reconsideration it was decided that to specify the place would be unsafe, as the letter might fall into the hands of the enemy.

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Matthew Andrews. The debt of Tulsi Dās to the Company was to be recovered, and to this end he was to be given all lawful assistance in obtaining what was due to him from the estate of President Wyche. Thomas Rolt was ordered to make good a sum alleged to have been paid to him by 'Trickum' [Trivikram]; and the late factors at Ahmadābād were to be held responsible for 2,000 rupees remitted from Surat, the receipt of which they had denied. After reiterating that, 'if the warrs should continue betweene us and the Dutch', the factors must reduce their expenses to the lowest pitch and place out their capital at interest, the letter closes with references to Bombay and Persia, the former of which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Considering their dates, it may seem strange that neither in this letter nor in that of 27 March is there any definite reference to the fact that on 4 March war had been actually proclaimed against the Dutch (*Cal. S. P., Dom.*, 1664–5, p. 242). The most probable explanation is that the former had been signed some time before the date it bore, which was that of the closing of the packet; while the latter was merely a brief note from the Governor on business details. That the information was imparted by some other channel appears from the following extracts:

We . . . lett yo[illegible]w the warrs are now openly proclaim'd upon the Exchange of London by an herald at armes. (*Surat to Bombay*, 9 *Sept.*)

As for news from England, since your ships departed thence, we referr you to the inclos'd papers, which will acquaint you that His Majestie had proclaim'd warr against the Dutch. [H]is navy was in a greate forwardnesse, neare 150 at the randevous to the norward; it would be made up 200 sayle in a months time. Wee pray God give him an happy victory. (*Surat to Madras*, 9 *Oct.*)

For news, our King and nation are very couragious and unanimously bent in using their uttmost power to destroy this insulting enemy of ours; to which intent His Majestie hath in the first of the spring sett out as gallant a navy as ever England could boast of, commanded by men of courage and resolution; that we hope before this the stroake is struck and the sting of that cruell serpent pull'd out, if they dare to shew their heads abroad; which is much doubted by all, His Majesties expedition and numbers having much cowed them. But if they should (like cowards) not dare to come out, yet can it not be esteemed lesse then a victory, and we shall have our ends on them, by starving and stifling them up at home;

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by which at last when necessity shall compell them to compound for their unjust rapins, we shall hope to see better days in India; that after soe long strugling we may gett uppermost at last (which God in His mercy graunt). Thus much for news in particular, which you may make use of in heightning that nation on all occasions, in counting to them our victories in surprising already upward of 150 ships, and the greate hopes we have of freeing our selves and those neighbour nations from their tyranny in the future. (*Surat to Calicut*, 9 *Oct.*)

As was stated in his letter of 4 September, Captain Harman, whose ship was weakly manned, had come to the river's mouth, instead of the usual anchorage in Swally Hole, for fear lest he should find some Dutch vessels at the latter place; and at a consultation held on 10 September it was decided that the safest course would be to bring the *African* into the river, after lightening her as much as possible. Instructions were given accordingly to the captain, and on the 13th he announced that he had got the ship up as far as 'Curcah'.[1] She had been higher up, but had grounded for a while 'below Mallabarre Island', and had been forced to drop down the river again; at what spot she finally moored is not stated. On 15 November it was resolved by consultation to store in 'Umbra' [Umra] the cargo prepared for her, in order to avoid 'the many impediments and delayes wh[illegible]e usuall in the clearing of goods from the custome howse, which may more especially be expected in these monthes of their marriages'. The goods could then be taken down the river in boats as soon as the ship was over the bar.

The *St. George*, the second ship of the season, made a late start (14 April) from England and, the monsoon weakening, did not reach the coast of India until 21 November. She put into Diu, where it was thought that she would be safe under the guns of the Portuguese, and Capt. Lord immediately dispatched a letter to Surat announcing his arrival and soliciting orders. This letter arrived on 30 November, when a consultation was at once held, at which it was resolved that the ship should remain at Diu, because

Everie houre a fleet of Dutch ships are expected, and it is very much to admiration they are so long absent. Besides, if the Hollander should offer violence to our shipping whilst riding in

[1] Called 'Kirkar' in a document of 1668. Its position has not been located.

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this Kings ports, wee are uncertaine whether hee will concerne himself with our differrences; so that to bring her hither at this time seems to us a great danger, both of ship and goods.

It was also determined not to attempt to transport the cargo to Surat in hired vessels, but to send Randolph Taylor to Diu in the Company's sloop

To land the goods in some convenient warehowse and to treat with the Captaine Governour of Dio about the customes for what goods hee might there dispose of (if a market should present), and for what should be transhipt or sent to other marketts that wee might pay no customes; also to desire his protection of the ship, if the enemy should assault her.

Taylor's instructions were dated 4 December. He carried with him a letter of the same date addressed to Capt. Lord, inviting him to come to Surat in the sloop (which was under the command of Richard Nevinson) and informing him of Taylor's appointment. Lord arrived accordingly (accompanied by Taylor) on 14 December, and on the following day they both attended a consultation, at which it was resolved to dispatch the *African* to England as speedily as possible and to leave her consort at Diu,

In respect to a present treaty with this Governour, whereby wee are in hopes to encline him to cause a contract to be made between the Dutch and us, that wee shall not molest the ships of each other within the bounds and limmitts of the Kings port and jurisdiction; which in probability may be effected, though it will yet require some time.

At another consultation, held four days later, it was decided that, as Diu was not 'frequented by merchants of any note', it would be best to bring the cargo of the *St. George* over to Surat in small vessels. The Council did not doubt that this might be done in safety, as no Dutch ships had yet appeared and the weather was favourable. Taylor was again dispatched to Diu in the sloop, to take charge of the arrangements.

On 21 December orders were sent to Capt. Harman to get the *African* out of the river at the earliest opportunity, and to prepare then to receive her lading. What followed is told in a letter to Taylor dated a week later.

Yesterday morning there appear'd in sight four greate Dutch ships, which, having spent a tyde in plying too and again, about

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six a clock anchored at the rivers mouth. The *Affrican* was gott over the barr the day before, and, having made them betimes, fitted herselfe as well as the time would permitt, and, before they came up with her, waighed one anchor and slipt another and, without the assistance of any pylott, (God be thanked) gott safe over the barr, where she now rides.

In the changed circumstances Taylor was bidden to refrain from sending over any goods.

On receipt of the news of the *African's* return, Oxenden and his colleagues wrote, blaming Harman for his timidity, declaring that ' in our judgements you were very safe under the protection of this King, whilst you were in his port '. The next day (29 December), however, they wrote more temperately, desiring him not to venture out before the next spring tide, as they were

> Expecting before that time soe to worke with this Governour that hee shall prevail with the Dutch, and really and firmly oblige them not to molest or committ acts of hostility against our shiping while they shall ride at anchor at the rivers mouth ; which hitherto is but superficially done, being passed only by word of mouth.

In this expectation they were disappointed, and many months passed before either ship dared to leave her place of refuge. Meanwhile, on 1 January, 1666, the President and Council wrote overland to the Company, in answer to their letters of 11 August and 24 December, 1664. In point of fact the Surat letter was for the most part written in November 1665, though kept back for want of a conveyance, and its references to subsequent events are meagre. The Company's remarks are commented upon paragraph by paragraph, but only in certain cases is it necessary to note the replies given ; while in some other instances the subject falls within the scope of the succeeding chapters. Emphasis was laid upon the necessity of beginning the investment early.

> Callicoes are soe bought up by the Dutch etc. that we are forced to pray and pay for what we have and take it as a courtesy that the weavers will vouchsafe to receive our money 8 and 10 months before hand, which is the only thing that tyes them to us.

Indigo was likely to be plentiful, owing to seasonable rains, and a fall in price was expected. An experiment was being made of purchasing ' salloes [1] in the places where they are wove ', as this

[1] A cotton stuff (*sālu*), mostly dyed Turkey red.

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course was likely to prove more advantageous than buying them at Surat. Cardamoms could not be obtained, 'for their product is seated in the middle of our enemies' (the Dutch). Saltpetre was not procurable at Surat at anything like the Company's price.

Tis noe currant commodity, nor requir'd by any except this King for his particular occasions, forcing what he hath to be purposely provided; for which, although he pay as much as we, yet the payment is not soe good. Besides, it is prohibited to all others to buy any, and may lawfully be surpriz'd as the Kings commodity, when ever the Kings ministers are inclin'd to trouble them, which they are not backward to doe till they have forced them to compound, making their advantages upon them; for which reasons they dare not keep any before hand, nor will they contract with us, except to such an advantage as will defray such exactions that will certainly fall on them, besides the trouble we have afterward to cleare it from said Kings ministers. And again, it will aske time to digg and bring out of the country, besides many utensils that belong to its refining. All which considred, (as said) you may not expect any from hence but what will cost you deare, especially the first yeare, untill all things be settled; whereas afterward you may have it more reasonable, provided you yearly enorder a quantity to be sent from these parts. Otherwise 'twere better you lay downe the thoughts of it and thinke of something else for the kintlage of your ships.

Coffee was very scarce, but the factors would send home a supply, if obtainable at a reasonable rate. The Dutch at Surat had plenty of cinnamon, but, under orders from Batavia, were holding up the price to 75 rupees per maund, which no one would give. The President and Council noted with gratification the Company's approval of their actions at the time of Sivāji's raid. They added:

We have not been backward in our endeavours to improove that businesse; which although yet not finisht, our labours are not totally lost therein. Although we cannot hitherto prevail with this Governour to adjust accomptts with us, yet we have noe reason to fear the performance of this Kings promises, they being confirm'd by his Dewan to be his gratious will and pleasure that we have a yeares customes of all goods imported and exported in one yeare (the accomptt whereof being now adjusted in our books amounts to 25,000 [rupees], which will be soe much to your gaine), besides an halfe per cent. to be allow'd out of this yeares customes; but we stand on having the halfe of our whole customes remitted us. In the procury whereof your President hath been at greate

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charges on his particular accomptt to the Kings Dewan, the nobles etc. officers at court ; and although he hath not yet obtain'd an order and graunt, yet he doth not totally despaire he shall loose all his pains and charges. When procur'd, it shall be laid at your feet, it being the Presidents resolution to be referr'd wholy to you in what consideration you shall please to make him toward his pains and charges.[1]

Here hath been a long time a greate noyse and expectation of a French Company, which you advise us they intend to erect in these parts, and a very large stock already subscribed, and how they resolv'd to send out ships the ensuing spring ; which have been by all these people howrely expected, but as yet none arriv'd. We shall observe your directions if they come.

As regards the sale of all the Company's local shipping, the factors said :

We have only left of yours two hoyghs and one sloop, which would yeild you soe little, if sould, and otherwise soe necessary to you, that we may not part with them without doing you a very greate disservice and extraordinary charge for the future in the lading and unlading your ships ; wherefore we make bold only to continew them to you. And as for other ships or vessails we have none.

Oxenden indignantly denied the insinuation that he was allowing his private trade to injure that of the Company. 'He hath not dealt for 500*l.* from his coming into these parts to this day in the country, nor hath a ship been lost wherein either myselfe or any Englishman (to my knowledge) had the valew of 6*d.*, except a small bale of presents for your accomptt on the junck *Seaflower*.' To be frank, he would have traded to a larger amount (as the Company had given him leave to do), but 'the deadnesse of the marketts' had discouraged him. His two ships carried to Persia or Basra only freight goods belonging to natives, except that on one occasion he sent a bale of 'white shashes with gold heads, a commodity not at all accustomary to be carry'd for England', receiving in return

[1] For a further reference to this subject see the postscript on p. 36 ; also a letter to the Bengal factors of 9 January, 1666, in which the Surat Council said : 'We have lately procur'd this Governors seale for the allowance of 25,000 rupees to be remitted for our customes due the last yeare, and an half per cent. to be deducted from all customes payable from that time forward for ever. But for the other one per cent. we cannot hitherto obtaine a graunt ; yet have not laid downe our hopes of it, though faint, for want of taking the right course ; for bare sollicitations seldome have successe at court.'

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some Persian carpets ' desir'd by his relations for their particular use and otherwise to pleasure a friend '. He had a small adventure on the Coromandel Coast in a little vessel in which he was interested, but she had only made ' but one sorry voyage to Persia, by which he is like to be a looser '. This being so, he entreated the Company not to give ear to scandal-mongers, who were probably persons whom his duty to his employers had forced him to disoblige.

The letter then returned to the instructions received from the Company, and enumerated the supplies sent from time to time to St. Helena.

But we cannot possibly gett a man here to direct them in the sowing and making indico ; those that plant it here being all natives and have families, who will not be perswaded to leave them and their relations upon any consideration ; which we thought good to advise you, that you might enorder the procuring a person or two out of those plantations of Barbados etc.

The arrival of the *African* and her berthing in the Tāpti were next mentioned.

Some 4 or 5 days before she arriv'd, came in a Dutch dogger boate of 70 or 80 tunns, sent from Holland directly to this place to give intelligence. This vessail noe sooner came in but enquir'd after the *Affrican*, and tis said brought orders for her surprising, in case she mett any ships upon this coast ; but, blessed be God, they missed of their ends.

The trouble with the Governor of Surat over Bombay was narrated, and the establishment of a factory in that island was recommended (these points are dealt with later). The factors then turned to the Company's letter of 24 December, 1664. Inquiries for saltpetre were being made at Agra, Ahmadābād, Burhānpur, and Aurangābād. Expenses would be reduced as much as possible. A start had been made with lending money at interest to merchants who could be relied upon.

This our late practice of letting out money is strangely admir'd by all, and very much to your honour and creditt and brings many conveniencies to you, these people saying the oldest man now in Surratt cannot remember that you were ever out of debt before.

Of the goods received, the broadcloth was sold at 4½ rupees per yard to the merchant who bought the previous consignment. His only reason for taking it was that he had on hand a considerable

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proportion of his previous purchase and wished to prevent competition. Almost all the pieces proved to be short in measure, some by as much as a yard, and allowance had to be made accordingly. The shortage was the more surprising, seeing that 'England allows a thumbs breadth to every yard'. The scarlets and fine greens had been disposed of at 40 per cent. advance on the invoiced prices. The brimstone brought from Bantam by the *Surat Frigate* was such poor stuff that the factors were glad to get ¾ rupee per maund, whereas, had it been as good as that sent from England, it would have yielded 2½ rupees. The coral brought out by the *London* and the *Royal Charles* fetched, the 'grezio' 11⅞ and the 'recadutte' 12⅜ rupees per seer of 18 pice; the 'teraglia'[1] was very coarse and full of dust and stones, and they were glad to get rid of it at 30 rupees a maund of 40 seer. The pewter ware would not fetch more than the price of the copper (½ rupee per seer); and the brass wire was unvendible. The 'dagger knives' were considered overrated in comparison with the sword-blades. The quicksilver was sold at 75 rupees the maund. Of the goods brought by the *African*, the 'grezio' coral was so excellent that it fetched the unusual price of 15 rupees per seer, but it was short in weight, probably owing to an error in 'reducing the Legorne weight into English pounds'. This commodity was in very good esteem; but future consignments should be packed more carefully. The 'recaduttee' coral that came with it was short in weight but of good quality, and realized 7½ rupees per seer. The copper produced 21 rupees per maund, and the brimstone 2½ rupees. The vermilion was sold at the same price as the quicksilver. Elephants' teeth were in no demand, owing to a glut produced by large imports from East Africa, which had brought down the price to about 20 rupees per maund.

There was last year[2] arriv'd out of England to Mocha in the

[1] For these terms see the 1630–3 volume, pp. 31, 129.

[2] According to *O.C.* 3063 the date of the *Love's* arrival was 16 July, 1665. The scheme for this interloping voyage evidently originated with Matthew Andrews, the ex-President of Surat, who proposed to take advantage of the Company's abandonment of the Red Sea commerce to start an independent trade with those parts, which the growing demand for coffee was likely to make lucrative. In November, 1664, proposals were submitted for the grant of a patent to a new company to be formed for that purpose (*Cal. S. P., Dom.*, 1664–5, p. 76). Probably it was thought that such an infraction of the charter recently granted to the East India Company would be too strong a measure; and the next, we hear

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Redd Sea a vessail that went under the name of the frigatt *Love*, commanded by one Hart, her cape merchantts Joseph Hynmers [1] and John Evans,[2] and had in her some broad cloth, lead, pieces of eight, iron gunns, and other things of small accomptt. She arriving soe suddainly after Hubert Hugo, a Dutchman, said to be a French pirate, or otherwise that he had a French commission, which putt all the people into an uproare, fearing that his good successe in the last voyage had return'd him to make a second attempt on that port; and indeed (as we are inform'd) all that they could say or doe could not disswade them, notwithstanding they professed themselves English and came on noe other accomptt or intent but trade. They landed their goods, bought a considerable quantity of coffee and some other small parcells of drugs; nay (as we are inform'd) brought a letter from our Kings Majestie to the King of the country, requiring, among many other things, to have a place alotted apart to reside and carry on trade and commerce, which might be continued between them. And that they did procure a commission under our Kings Majesties seale is avowched by severall now return'd to have seen; and we ourselves have read letters from them to some of their correspondents in Surratt that Sir Martin Noell and Mr. Matthew Andrews, your quondam President of India, are deputed His Majesties agents to settle a trade from England to that place. All which is very strange that we have nothing from you of it. It is true we hear that little they sould was taken off by the Governor at good rates, more out of fear of molesting his port then any need or want he had of them, or that he would have given those rates had he been well assured who they were. This news arriving hither by a junck that came somewhat early did also startle the whole towne and putt them into many doubts what would become of their estates that was to be return'd on this Kings juncks; but, blessed be God, all succeeded well in their safe arrivall, though many of them would not venture to make any returnes, there were such strange reports cast out of severall vessails lying, some off of Aden and others at the Streights mouth. And this did not proove altogeather an untruth; for one of this Kings juncks, nam'd the *Elyhe* [*Ilāhi*], belonging to

(*ibid.*, pp. 124, 130) is of an agreement for a preliminary voyage to Mokha, to be managed by Andrews and Sir Martin Noel (one of the Farmers of the Customs), under a special licence from King Charles, who was to receive one-fourth of the profits. Sir Henry Bennet (Secretary of State), who negotiated the grant, was promised an eighth part of the profits for himself. Needless to say, the whole transaction was sedulously concealed from the East India Company.

[1] As will be seen from the preceding volume, Hinmers had been in the Company's service a few years before. In 1670 he was sent out to Madras as a member of the council, and he died there ten years later. His widow married Elihu Yale.

[2] According to Gary (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. xi. f. 174) he was a kinsman of Matthew Andrews. In September, 1669, he was described as aged about twenty-five (*ibid.*, f. 173).

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the port of Cambaya, mett with a Swedes man of warr,[1] that in the chace fired upon him, shott into the ship, and wounded some of the men; at which the said junck loar'd her sayles untill the Swede came up with her; who, having them under command, sent their boate aboard, to whom they tendred ours and the Hollanders passes; at sight whereof they shewed themselves civill, forbearing further search, taking out of her only 2 or 3 anchors, a cable, and some small rigging, for which the Swede gave him a receipt or kind of a small noate, declaring what he had taken from them and the civill esteem he had for our passes, for which we accomptt ourselves very thankfull to him. Otherwise we had been involved into a greate deale of trouble; for this Governor, having received an accomptt of what had hapned, before the Swedes noate came to him was very high with us on the one side and the Dutch on the other, threatning us with what had hapned and that it was done by our vessail that was at Mocha, saying how ill the King would take it, especially since he had shewne us favour of late, to be soe ill requited; and nothing must serve but that we must give him a writing that, if it should appear to be done by any of our nation, we would satisfy the Kings commands; which we refus'd to doe, saying we knew not what proofes he might bring contrary to the truth, which for the Kings cause would say and sweare any thing, and that we would not subject ourselves to it, in reguard that, in case we should submitt to give such a writing, it might enslave our nation for the future. He urg'd the Kings high displeasure, and that it might soe farr incense him as to turne us out of his country. We told him we were [ready to go?] at a very shorte warning, whenever the King should signify his pleasure therein, but writing we would give none. As this was hott in dispute, comes the Sweades noate from Cambaya, given to the noquadah or commander of the aforesaid junck, whereupon the Governor sent to your President for an Englishman to read it; whereunto Mr. Randolph Taylor was appointed, with order that, if it were not good English and upon a rationall accomptt, he should not seem to read or understand it. Soe the said Mr. Taylor, not finding it anywayes to appertain to us, declar'd that he could neither read nor understand it, and that it was Dutch; whereupon the [Dutch] Commandere was sent to, who sent his secretary, who seem'd to read it very fluently, interpreting what was writt to them; at which Mr. Taylor, seeing himselfe fairly discharged, left them to answer it; whereupon the Governor will know noe other but that the Hollander hath done this, requiring them to make satisfaction. This said Swede rov'd up and downe some time, without meeting with any prize for his turne, to the expence of his provisions and

[1] According to the Dutch she was named the *Falcon* (*Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, p. 334).

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stores of all kinds. We hear [he] is lately putt into Goa, and proffers his ship to sale, which they say the Vice King is in hand to buy, intending to take his passage in her to Lisboa, upon report that another is already come out of Portugall to displace him; which we are not sorry to heare, since a greater enemy to our nation then he hath approov'd himselfe cannot well come in his place. Wee have been the longer upon these subjects, in reguard of the greate troubles we ly expos'd to, and not only our persons but your estates also; which may in a greate measure be qualify'd, if not prevented, in case you would please to advise us of these things when they shall at any time happen; which otherwise we are to seek, not knowing what to answer for ourselves. The Dutch can now say they were advis'd of this ships coming out 2 yeares since, and that there was another intended to accompany her, which was cast away in the port from whence shee was to sett foorth.

The Company's answer about Achin had arrived in time for the President and Council to communicate its purport to the Queen by a junk bound thither. She would certainly be pleased to hear that the Dutch are likely to be worsted.

Both her selfe and the rest of the natives are very civill and respective to our nation; and certainly, if we could but ballance the Dutch, we might have our owne termes, whereby that iland of Sumatra might be made very beneficial, for it is the only place of trade in all these parts; which the Hollander is very sensible of, esteeming it the second best next to their Spice Ilands. It vents greate quantities of Coast goods, as also those of these parts. It also abounds with tynn, gold, elephants teeth, benjamin, camphire, cassia lignum, logwood, pepper, and diverse other commodities that vend very currantly in all parts of India; which we thought it necessary to acquaint you with in this place, that, when you shall come to make termes with the Hollander and settle trade in India [i. e. the Indies], you would not be unmindfull to provide and share with them in that trade.

In Persia Flower and Swinglehurst had been ordered to refrain from visiting Ispahān and to reduce their expenses to the lowest possible point. Nothing had been heard from them since May, and at that time nothing had been received as the Company's share of the Gombroon customs for the past season.

But we have cause to fear it will be worse then ever, in reguard there hath not been any ship or ships that own'd your or our nations name; which, we are inform'd, is very much resented by the

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Persians, insoemuch that they declare, since we have noe trade or dealing in that port, we may expect noe customes.

The arrival of the *St. George* was reported; also the steps taken thereupon. Part of the remaining estate of President Wyche was being sent home, and the rest would follow. The escape of the *African* from a Dutch squadron was described. The Governor of Surat had been solicited to impose neutrality 'in the Kings ports'. Every effort would be made to get the *African* away, but it was feared that the Dutch would blockade the harbour and keep her in. It was deemed impossible to get goods over to Diu to lade the *St. George*, and the only feasible course seemed to be to bring her to Surat, should an opportunity present. Randolph Taylor had been taken into Council; the Company's sanction was solicited, and also some 'encouragement' for him. Robert Ward, who came out with Wyche as surgeon, was desirous of returning to England, his period of service being expired. A successor was needed, and the factors asked that

> More then ordinary care be taken that an able, experienct man of good judgment and practice be provided, and not too easily take the report of such as shall present one; since it soe much concernes our lives, as also the honour of our nation, many casualties hapning for him to be employ'd in cure of Governors and many other noble men, who, having such civilities done them, in gratitude become very serviceable in the furtheringe your businesse.

Finally, Oxenden himself begged that his successor might be appointed, in order that he might return, 'according to his contracted time', and justify his administration to the Company. He averred that he had always served them to the best of his ability and with complete integrity. He trusted that, in addition to any other recompense the Company might award him, fitting accommodation would be provided in some returning ship; that he would be allowed 'the liberty of some goods to make home that little he hath of his owne'; that he might retain office until he actually embarked, 'according to the custome and practice of former Presidents'; or that, should the outbreak of hostilities prevent his leaving, he might be permitted to remain in India, resigning his post, if so ordered by the Company, to his appointed successor. Goodier and Aungier renewed their pleas for increased remunera-

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tion, and Oxenden warmly seconded their requests. A postscript reminded the Company of the Rev. John L'Escaliot's application for the same rate of salary as his predecessor; and added:

Since, that graunt hath passed under the Governors etc. the Kings ministers hands and seales for the remitting of the aforesaid 25,000 rupees to be allow'd you out of the customes.

With this letter went a list of the Company's servants, &c., 'in and under this Presidency of Surat'. It comprised, besides Oxenden and his colleagues in Council (Goodier, Aungier, and Taylor), Gray (secretary), James, Streynsham Master, Nurse, Francis, Hardres, Bendish, Petit, Henry Oxenden, and Chown (factors), L'Escaliot (minister), Ward (surgeon), Robert Bywater (his servant), and Samuel Salisbury (steward). All these were in Surat; as also Anthony Smith and Nicholas Scrivener, who were not in the service. Besides these, Hoskins was shown as stationed at Broach; Robert Master, Giffard, and Chamberlain at Kārwār; Smeaton and Barbor at Calicut; Flower and Swinglehurst in Persia; while Harrington and Grigby were described as 'factors of Porcatt, now prisoners to the Dutch in Cochin'.

The packet for the Company was accompanied by a letter from Oxenden to the Consul at Aleppo, dated 29 December, 1665, in which he gave him the current news (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 143). Referring to the Swedish privateer, the President said that she carried 32 guns and was then at Goa, and that it was reported that 'the commander and chief pilot are dead and the ships company not well agreeing'; otherwise the vessel would probably have pursued her career of piracy. The most interesting items of information were, however, the following:

In mine of the 31th of March, I acquainted you that this Kings forces were marched into Deçan, but as then heard of no action. Since when they beseidged some considerable castles belonging to Sevage and tooke two, and have at length reduced him to conditions, and he delivered upp divers of his strongest castles and his sonne a hostage, and tis reported he is prepareing to goe and visit the Mogull.[1] On the other side the King of Decan [i. e. Bījāpur] hath recovered from him Rajapore, Dabull, and all the country adjacent. The Mogull hath 6,000 horse before Chaul, a strong

[1] This campaign is dealt with in the subsequent chapter on the factories on the Malabar Coast.

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towne of the Portugalls, but their intention not yet kn[own]. The Decan King hath made peace with the Mogull (the report is for 900,000 pagodos) and is sending his tribute money to Agra.

THE OCCUPATION OF BOMBAY, 1665

As we have seen in the preceding volume, at the opening of the year Humphrey Cooke, with his sadly depleted force, was waiting at Goa for the Portuguese commissioners to accompany him to Bombay and put him in possession of the island. The conditions on which the transfer was to be made were laid down in a document signed by the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, on 4/14 January, 1665. Cooke was aware of its terms before leaving Goa, and he has been blamed for accepting them; but it is only fair to remember his difficulties. The Portuguese were masters of the situation. Anjidiv had been abandoned; the expeditionary force could not remain indefinitely at Goa, cooped up in leaky boats, nor could it reach Bombay without the Viceroy's assistance; and that official had already shown his willingness to grasp at any pretext that would enable him to delay the surrender, to which he was still bitterly opposed. In these circumstances Cooke evidently thought it best to get possession as soon as possible, leaving the conditions to be argued, if necessary, between the authorities in London and Lisbon. He knew—and surely the Viceroy, who was so pedantic about credentials, must have known—that he had no power to bind the English government to anything that went beyond the terms of the treaty.

Cooke's own account is contained in his letter of 3 March, addressed to Lord Arlington (Secretary of State), now preserved in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 91).[1] This narrates the course of events, as already given, down to the arrival of the force at Goa and complains of the delay there, 'the soldjery and my selfe lying aboard in the hott sunn all the time, which was not a little troublesome'. At last the Viceroy informed Cooke that the commissioners were ready,

And sends mee a paper that containes severall articles and conditions made by him that I should observe and signe after the

[1] See note on p. 44. The letter has been printed in full by Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan at p. 464 of his *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay*, 1660–77.

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receipt of the island; which [I] to excuse disputes promised I would, and did, as appeareth by the said papers of the rendition; for otherwise there would have bin one thing or other to have excused the delivery while [i. e. until] further orders from Europe. Our boates wee came in were rotten and ready to sinck, soe could not possibly have held out any longer, if there had bin made anie scruple or doubt in the delivery of the island. But now I have the possession, [I] shall observe noe more his articles then what is convenient.

Bruce states (*Annals of the East India Company*, vol. ii. p. 155) that Cooke had acceded to a treaty on the subject in November, 1664; but evidently this is incorrect.

The contents of the document dictated by the Viceroy are well known.[1] It was tacitly assumed that only the island of Bombay was in question, and the first article provided that the other islands should retain their freedom of trade and navigation. Any Portuguese subjects taking refuge in Bombay were to be surrendered. The Catholic inhabitants of the island were guaranteed the free exercise of their religion. Portuguese vessels were to be allowed to use the harbour without interference. The inhabitants of Bombay were to preserve their rights of property. Portuguese residents in Salsette, Karanja, &c., were to be permitted to fish in the bay and in the strait dividing Bombay from Salsette by Bāndra, without payment of any duty; and the same liberty was conceded to the inhabitants of Bombay Island. Any native residents quitting Portuguese territory for English must be surrendered, even if they desired to become Protestants. The lady to whom the manor of Bombay belonged [i. e. Senhora de Miranda] was to retain her houses and estates, though after her death the English might buy these from her heirs. If her house should be wanted in order to erect fortifications, a just compensation was to be given her. Persons drawing revenue from Bombay were to retain their rights. The Catholic clergy or monks were to be left unmolested. Finally, the inhabitants and landholders were not to be required to pay more than the *foros* [quit-rents] exacted under the rule of the Portuguese.

[1] For English versions see *O.C.* 3054; *C.O.* 77 (P.R.O.), vol. ix. no. 80; Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series*, vol. ii. p. 377; Professor Khan's work already cited, p. 479; and *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi. p. 17. The Portuguese text will be found in *O.C.* 3053; *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 79; and Biker's *Tratados*, vol. iii. p. 41.

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On the same day that these instructions were issued, the Viceroy addressed a letter to Cooke, informing him that everything was ready and that he might take his departure as soon as he pleased.[1] According to a letter from one of the commissioners (Dr. Migos),[2] the flotilla left Goa on 7 January, and was escorted as far as Chaul by the Portuguese fleet under the command of the Viceroy's son. This is confirmed by Cooke's report (quoted later) and by a letter from Taylor and Petit at Goa to Surat, dated 7 January, which says

> They [i. e. Cooke and his men] were promised a quick dispatch hence, and were very confident thereof . . . but since they have found the contrary, as wee allwayes suspected they would; being now dispatched. The Viadore da Fazenda and Chancellour of the citty are sent to deliver possession of the island of Bombay; before receipt whereof the Lieutenant Governour is to signe to some articles, drawn up by the Vice Roy, too ridiculous to be long kept (if they are any wayes obligatory). The Vice Roy hath violated one himselfe; for the Lieutenant Governour [i. e. Cooke] meeting with two souldiers that ranne away at Anjedeva, seized upon them; which being discovered to the Vice Roy by Dom Francisco de Lima, who had shipped them aboard his vessell for Portugall and was very earnest to have them againe, the Vice Roy, to gratifie a person to whom he is so much obliged, immediately ordered the Captain of Aguada Castle to seize upon any English he could meet with belonging to His Majestie; and he quickly found an oppertunity to secure one Capt. Jowles and Mr. Ball, which were kept prisoners in said fort untill the other two rogues were delivered back, and then released. Five of the *Londons* men and four of the *Royal Charles* are runne away; and allthough wee have severall times demanded restoration of them, yet cannot hitherto obtaine the same.

The letter added that, in accordance with instructions from Surat, 4,000 dollars had been paid over to Cooke.

Bombay was reached at the beginning of February, and then a further delay occurred, for some of the authorities at Bassein had to be summoned to the scene; and it was not until 8 February[3] that the formal transfer took place, 'in the great house[4] of Donna

[1] Portuguese versions in *O.C.* 3053 and Biker's *Tratados*, vol. iii. p. 56; English in *O.C.* 3054 and *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi. p. 15. [2] See Biker's *Tratados*, vol. iii. p. 73.

[3] Ash Wednesday. Some at least of the Portuguese may have thought this appropriate.

[4] Afterwards the head-quarters of the English administration. This is the house shown in the frontispiece, and described by Fryer as 'pretty well seated', with 'a delicate garden'. It stood on the site now occupied by the arsenal behind the Town Hall.

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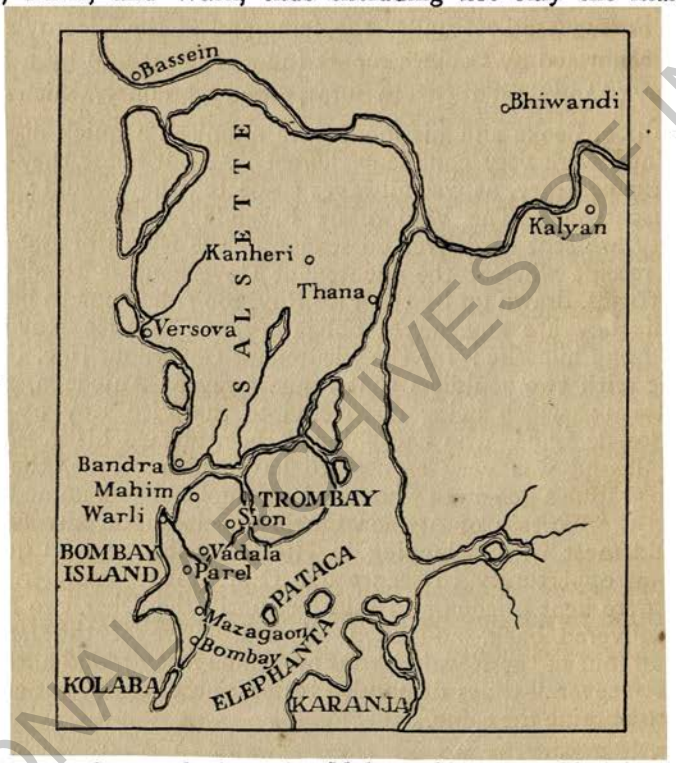
Ignes de Miranda, widow of the late Dom Rodrigo de Monssanto'. The Portuguese commissioners, probably under local pressure, took advantage of Cooke's pliancy to narrow to the utmost the territory to be ceded, defining it as simply Bombay proper, Mazagaon, Parel, and Warli, thus excluding not only the island of



Kolāba on the south, but also Māhīm, Sion, and Vadāla, which were separated from the rest of the island by a shallow channel.[1] Mr. Edwardes (*Rise of Bombay*, p. 92) has pointed out that the Portuguese had some grounds, from a legal point of view, for fixing these limits; but it can hardly be doubted that the treaty between the two crowns contemplated the surrender of the whole island, while even the Viceroy's instructions to the commissioners appear to have accepted the strait between Bombay and Salsette as the proper dividing line. However, Cooke made no demur, and

[1] See Dr. Migos's letter in Biker (*op. cit.*).

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he further agreed to the demand that the conditions laid down by the Viceroy should be accepted by the English as binding. The documents relating to the cession having been solemnly read and Cooke's credentials produced and examined,

He personally tooke possession and delivery of the said port and island of Bombaim; goeing therein, takeing earth and stones in his hands, entering and passing into the forts thereof, and puting the rest [1] on the walls thereof, and goeing allso in the said island, takeing the earth and stones thereof in his hands, and doeing like things required by law, without that in such time he was any way hindered or contradicted in the said possession and delivery. And so he effectually tooke it, peacably and quietly, with liberty and in peace, without any question or contradiction, for the Most Excellent King of Great Britaine, his heires and successors, to have, possess, and be lords of the said island of Bombaim and of the port thereof, according to the capitulations aforesaid made between both Crownes and instructions of the Vice King.[2]

Directions were then given for the proceedings to be formally recorded. The witnesses on the English side included Ensign Thorne, John Stevens (captain of the *Chestnut*), Henry Gary, and Richard Ball.

Cooke's first care was to take steps to make his position safe against attack. This, however, entailed expenditure and his funds were low. Even before he had taken possession of the island he had written to the President and Council at Surat, asking them to supply him with money for the purpose; but Oxenden and his colleagues were unwilling to do anything of the kind, as they had no specific authority from the Company and it was notoriously a difficult matter to recover from King Charles money spent in his service, even when the expenditure had been previously sanctioned. Replying on 2 February (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. nos. 77, 78), Oxenden pointed out that any unauthorized outlay on fortifications was likely to be repudiated in England, and that, if the King had intended that the island should be fortified, he would doubtless have sent out the requisite funds. For himself,

[1] The Portuguese text has *pondo as mãos*, i. e. putting *his hands*, and the translation in the Public Record Office is corrected accordingly.

[2] *O.C.* 3054. For other English versions see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxvi, p. 20, and P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 80; and for Portuguese, *O.C.* 3053, Biker's *Tratados*, vol. iii. p. 32, and P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 79.

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he considered such expenditure unnecessary. Neither the Company nor the factors themselves had any money to spare for such a purpose; and it was not understood why Cooke should be so short of cash, seeing that the supplies from home were intended to suffice for paying the whole of the original force, which was now so much depleted. In this connexion Cooke was reminded of the King's order that a muster should be held and the result sent home. The President had still in his hands a balance of 10,550 rials of eight out of the money sent by Alderman Backwell on the King's behalf to meet Shipman's expenses. Hitherto this sum had been withheld, owing to Cooke's refusal to comply with the conditions laid down by the Alderman; but, in his anxiety to serve the King's occasions, Oxenden would risk paying it over at once, if Cooke would say whether he would send for it or have it remitted by bills of exchange. Evidently Cooke had intimated a desire to take into the royal service any unemployed Englishmen at Surat, for the letter closed with a statement by Oxenden that he had 'appointed a person to acquaint the English with your desires to entertaine them upon the conditions you propound'.

The report which the President and Council made to the Company on the matter has been noticed already on p. 4. In addition, Oxenden, who was afraid that his action might be construed at home as showing an unwillingness to assist the King's affairs in an emergency, wrote both to Lord Arlington (6 March)[1] and to King Charles (12 March).[2] In the latter document he assured his sovereign that he had done his best to help the English at Bombay, in obedience to His Majesty's commands. To the Secretary of State Oxenden was more explicit. Referring to the stay of the expeditionary force at Anjidiv, he said that

The first yeare prooved very fatall to the souldiery, which noe reason cann bee given for, since this last hath soe well agreed with them that they have not lost five menn in the whole twelve monthes upon the island, which in itselfe stands in a good and wholesome ayre; and therefore it is gennerally imputed to the menns disagreeing with these partes and intemperate life.

After mentioning Shipman's death and Cooke's assumption of

[1] P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. nos. 93, 94; also nos. 101, 102, which are signed copies, dated 2 March. (An extract will be found in *C.O.* 324, vol. i. p. 335.)

[2] *Ibid.*, nos. 97–100.

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the command, Oxenden alluded to the fact that only one military officer remained alive, and he was an ensign merely.

By which meanes you may conclude the commonn souldiery are not soe well govern'd as they ought to bee, Mr. Cooke himself having but very little experience in the command of persons of their temper, his education and employment being quite of another nature; wherefore (as I am bound in duty) I cannott but acquaint you thus much, that speedy care bee taken for supply of the garrisonn with some honourable experienc'd person, as allsoe sober and well quallified officers, that may prevent the misdemeanours of those whome they command.

Bombay was well spoken of; it was healthy and so well situated for commerce that

The whole trade may in a short time bee drawne thither and Bombaim become the scale of India; the bay and harbour being very commodious and faire, that there is noe need of pillotts, but shipps of any burden may goe out and in at midnight. Besides, the countrey people, being soe slavishly used by the Portugalls, uppon civill treatment would resort thither, for they are much more affected to us then [to] their ould masters.

Finally, Oxenden said that he had already paid to Cooke 4,000 rials of eight, and was sending the balance by the ships bound for England. Cooke had demanded more, but Oxenden had no authority to advance any money from the Company's funds.

Reverting to Bombay, we note that the muster of the garrison which Gary had been ordered to take (see the previous volume, p. 335) had been held on 25 February, 1665. The list [1] gives the names of one ensign, four sergeants, six corporals, four drummers, and ninety-seven privates, a provost-martial, a surgeon and his mate, two gunners, a gunner's mate, a gunsmith, and a storekeeper; also the officers and crews of the *Chestnut* and of the sloop commanded by John Burgess. This is supplemented by a list [2] of the stores in hand on 3 March, signed by the storekeeper, Walter Gollofer. Whether he was the Company's servant who went home from Surat in January, 1656, does not appear.

Cooke soon showed that he did not intend to be bound by the agreement he had signed; for within a month he had sent a detach-

[1] P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. nos. 85, 86. A copy will be found in *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 48 (India Office).

[2] *Ibid.*, nos. 87, 88. There is a copy at the India Office in the volume referred to above.

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ment to take possession of Māhīm and its dependencies. Early in March he dispatched Ensign Thorne via Surat with a packet of letters informing the authorities at home that Bombay had been made over to him and detailing the steps he had already taken for the administration of the island. The principal document in the packet was a letter to Lord Arlington, dated 3 March, 1665,[1] from which we have already quoted. It continues:

Herin I remitt the papers of the said rendition, by which you will see all the particulars therin, and may perceive his [i. e. the Viceroy's] willingnes to bee troublesome, that wee might not have the surrender, in regard hee nominates noe person that shall receive the island for our Kings Majestie, but sait[h] that it shall bee delivered to the Gentlemen English.[2] The persons that were to make the rendition scrupled at it; soe cost some trouble to cleare. Wee set saile from Goa toward Bombaim in the aforesaid boates the 7th January 1664[-65], accompanied with 10 galliotts that brought the Chancelor of Goa and the Viador da Fazanda, whome were the persons appointed to make the surrender of Bombaim. Both were very antient men. By the way they fell sick; soe put into Chaule, where wee staied 8 daies for their recovery. The 2d February 1664 wee arriv'd at Bombaim, being there detained on board six daies more, while [i. e. until] the city and gentrey of Bassin came to bee present at the delivery as witnesses. The 8th February wee landed our men in armes, to receive the island in our Kings Majesties name; which was donne with all the ceremony and honour could bee. What they deliver'd was onely two small bulworks, some earth and stones (the ceremony for the island), as appeareth by the papers of the rendition. The King of Portugall (as they say) hath neither house, fort, amunition, nor foote of land on it, onely the aforrowes [*foros*] or rents, which is but small, importing about 700*l.* yearely. The two bulworkes they delivered Donna Ennes da Miranda claimes to bee hers, and appeareth soe, with the house. Our Kings Majestie hath nothing more then the rents that the King of Portugall had, with the island and port, which, being wholy unfortyfied, will cost much monies to make it defenceable by sea and land; which

[1] P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 91. See also the duplicate (no. 104), which dates the postscripts. No. 89 in the same volume is a letter from Cooke to an unnamed correspondent, dated 3 March, 1665; but it contains nothing of special interest. It has been printed by Professor Khan in his *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations* (p. 471).

[2] This is not correct, for the document says that the island is to be made over to the person named by the King of Great Britain; but it is true that the viceroy refrained from mentioning Cooke's name and so left to the commissioners the responsibility of deciding whether he was the person intended.

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must bee donne if His Majestie intends to make any thing of it. At present I shall onely make a platforme for our security, while [i.e. until] further orders from His Majestie; which, with the two bulworkes, will hold all our ordnance. It will bee very necessary [to make?] two or three small forts more, with a wall aboute the towne, for which [wee] shall want guns and orders, with effects to accomplish the same. In this island was neither government nor justice, but all cases of law was carried to Tannay and Bassin. Now it is in His Majesties jurisdiction, there must bee a setlement of justice, according to such lawes as His Majestie shall thinck fitt. For the present I have nominated for the whole island a Tannadar,[1] which is a kind of an under captain. Hee had the place afore, with 300 serapheens [2] a yeare; I am to allow him as much. I have likewise nominated a Justice of Peace, to examine all causes with a Bailiffe, that, matters being brought to a head, they may make report to mee, to sentence as I shall see cause. I have likewise nominated two persons to take care of orphants estates, one for the white people and one for the blacks, as it was formerly, with other officers under them. I have enordered a prison to bee made to keepe all in quietness, obedience, and subjection, these people generally being very litigious. I have alsoe nominated two Customers, one at Maym and another at this place. If our monies will reach, [I] shall build in each place a house for His Majesties accompt, which will bee very necessary to recover his customes. In the island are five churches, nine townes and villages, and upwards of 20,000 soules, as the Padres have given mee an accompt. The generall language is Portugueez; soe that it will bee necessary the statutes and lawes should bee translated into that language. The people most of them are very poore. As yet wee have bin here but a short time; as I find occation, [I] shall nominate what other officers shall bee necessary. I intend, as soone as may bee, to have a generall muster, to know what armes are in the island, and by the next oppertunity give you an accompt thereof. This island yeildeth at present nothing but a greate quantity of coco nutts and rice, with other necessary provissions. The Jesuits are much troubled at our being here, and strives all [that] may bee to make us odious to the people, and hath already attempted to take orphants off this island of the Gentues, Moores, and Banians, to force them to bee Christians; [3] which if should bee suffered, wee shall never make any thing of this place, for the

[1] *Thānadār*, a term now restricted to the chief of a police station (*thāna*, a post). The Portuguese adopted it for a military officer charged with the policing and defending of a town or district, as here.

[2] The Portuguese *zerafin* is reckoned by Gary as equivalent to 1*s*. 9*d*. Three *lāris* made a *zerafin* and 80 *reis* one *lāri*.

[3] See the previous volume, p. 144.

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liberty of conscience makes all the aforenamed desirous to live amongst us. I shall doe all [that] may bee to give them encorougement, as His Majestie commands in his instructions. They desire to have churches, but for the present I have not granted it; neither shall till I have further orders for it. If I should, the Portugalls will strange, in regard they looke on it as a scandall to their church. For the present I have ordered [that] they [i. e. the Hindus, etc.] use their ceremonies in their houses privately, but are not to give scandall to any. It will bee requisite that orders bee sent what shall bee donne in this particular.

Cooke next narrates his ineffectual attempts to extract money from the President and Council at Surat, and then goes on:

According to His Majesties comands, I have administred the oath of allegiance to all our owne people and some of the inhabitants. Hereafter I shall tender it to all the rest that are of a capacity to receive it. As yet [I] have not found any deny to take it. This island lyeth excelent well seated for trade, both for the South Seas, Red Seas, Gulph of Persia, Coast of Mallabarr, Cormondell, Bay of Bangaule, Pegu, and other places. 'Tis a very wholsome aire and pleasant. It 's some eight miles in length and five miles and a halfe broad.[1] Severall merchants begins to flock hither already from all parts; soe that I question not but in a short tyme it may bee as beneficiall to our Kings Majestie as Battavia is now to the Dutch. It will cost monies to fortyfy it as it ought; but in a short time noe question it will repay its charges with proffit. Herin I remitt you a coppy [2] of the King of Portugalls patent given for part of the customes of Maym, a towne and port in this island, for soe many lives as appeares in it, they paying onely 240 serapheens rent to the King for the customes; which is but small in consideration of what the port rents. I shall desire to know whether the patent is to stand in force, now the island belongs to our Kings Majestie. Here are severall that holds lands and other rents for lives on the same terms; therefore it will bee necessary to know His Majesties pleasure herin. Since I had the possession of this island I have writt to the Vice Roy at Goa, demanding in His Majesties name all the rents that hath bin due to him since the arrivall of his fleete here with My Lord of Marlebrough, which was in Sept. 1662, the said Vice Roy then constituting himselfe Governour of this island for our Kings Majestie; [3] soe noe question but hee

[1] Three to four would be more correct, according to modern measurement; but at that time the mile had not its present definite length.

[2] See the same volume, nos. 73 and 74. The claimant was Francisco Murzelo Coutinho.

[3] See the preceding volume, p. 136. But the Viceroy had not intended the expressions then used to be taken so literally.

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received the rents to his use. What his answer will bee [I] know not, but hope His Majestie will demand it of the King of Portugall in case he gives not satisfaction here (which is to bee feared). For the advancement of this port it will bee necessary to procure from the Court of Portugall the priviledge of navigating in that Kings currents and streames here freely and without any manner of impediment for all boates and vessells whatsoever that shall bee bound to this island with merchandizes, belonging to either English, Moores, Persians, or Banian merchants, from and to two places lying beyond Tannay upon the terra firme in the Mogolls dominions, the one called Cullian and the other Buimdy,[1] where (if ever this bee made a good port) all goods of Indostan growth and make, as well as those of Decan, Gulcondau, and the coast of Cormondell, must necessarily bee brought; which will make them cheaper by 15 or 20 per cent. then those that are carried to Surrat, in regard of the great distance from it and vecinity to the two prementioned places. And wheras these goods brought to the aforesaid townes must there bee shipped off and pass downe the river by Tannay, in all probabillity (if provission bee not made to prevent the same) the King of Portugalls ministers there may lay imposition upon and take custome for them, as the King of Denmarke doth in the Sound at Elsenore. And for the making this port more flourishing, orders from His Majestie will alsoe bee necessary for the building six briganteens or galliots for keeping the coast heraboutes free from Mallabarrs, who doe very much infest the same, to the greate detriment of trade.

Cooke transmits the muster taken by Gary, and explains the delay. He points out how weak the garrison is

To defend ourselves and keepe those islanders in obedience; out of which [I] am forced to send 20 men to Maym, to remaine there to keepe them under likewise. His Majestie will plainely see how necessary it will bee [to send?] a good recruit, both of officers and soldjers, which to save his monies I have not made any; soe that my care hath bin the more, in officiating my selfe all the officers places that are wanting; which service I doubt not but His Majestie will please to consider.

He sends also the account of disbursements made by Shipman and afterwards by himself down to 3 December, 1664.[2] This, he says, will show how economical they have both been.

In the said accompt Sir Abraham Shipman charges every private soldjer 3*d*. per day for the six months they were aboard shipp, the

[1] For Kalyān and Bhiwandi see p. 10 of the preceding volume.

[2] See the previous volume, p. 338.

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other six pence being discounted for His Majestie for their victualls and is not charged in this accompt. The 3*d.* is for clothes, shirts, stockings, and shoes to every one, as it was ordered in England by His Majestie to bee given aboard shipp, the which was observed; soe that what soldjer[s] died aboard, their 3*d.* per day would not pay for their clothes they received, which loss Sir Abraham Shipman sustaines.

The gun carriages brought from England, as also those left by Marlborough's squadron, are all decayed and wormeaten; and Cooke has consequently been forced to provide new ones. He trusts that a supply of men and stores will speedily be sent. He has received from Oxenden a portion of the money furnished from England, and the rest is promised shortly.

I perceave His Majestie is to pay after the rate of 5*s.* 6*d.* for each dollar [i. e. rial of eight]. Here they goe in payment to the soldjery for noe more then 4*s.* 9*d.* a peece, and will not pass in the country for more then 4*s.* 6*d.* each. To raise them to the soldjery in payment cannot bee, without particular order from His Majestie; and if hee should doe that, at 5*s.* 6*d.* each dollar they were not able to live on their pay. Sir Abraham Shipman never paid the same dollars at more then 4*s.* 9*d.* a peece, and the Portugall crusadoes at 4*s.* a peece. For mee to innovate and raise its price would cause mutiny, and [it] would not bee received at more then aforesaid. I see His Majestie will bee a greate looser by it, but it cannot bee remedied. The 14,550 peeces of eight, computed to bee 4,000*l.* at home, will not make here more then 3,455*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* according as I pay them to the soldjery.

Cooke commends to His Majesty's favour the bearer of this letter, Ensign Thorne, who is a kinsman of Shipman and has been a sharer in the enterprise from its start. Several Englishmen have made their way to Bombay and applied to be entertained in the King's service, but Cooke has hitherto refrained from engaging them, because he has no authority to do so. Now, however, he has decided to enlist 40 or 50 men, if he can procure them, and he trusts that his action will be approved, in view of the great need he has of soldiers. He sends a packet directed to the Portuguese ambassador in London from the Chancellor of Goa, who was one of the Commissioners for the delivery of the island and 'was very instrumentall thereunto, hee having put a period to all scruples and doubts'. Finally, their minister being dead, Cooke asks for 'an orthodox divine' to take his place.

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In a postscript, dated 15 March, 1665, Cooke continues his story.

Since the finishing and firming [i.e. signing] of the preceding, the Vicar of Parela, Padre Antonio Barboza (a Jesuit), presented mee with the paper which is herewith sent for your perusall,[1] by which hee endeavours to make appeare that 2000 sherapheens out of the Kings rents at Maim (which comes but to 26 sherapheens more per annum) were given to their Company by the King of Spaine, Don Phillipp, then Lord alsoe of Portugall, and confirmed unto them by the Vice Roys of India. But it seeming unto mee a thing most unreasonable that they should take away all the benefitts of the rents of the said Maim, and His Majestie [have] nothing at all, hee being at soe vast a charge in mainteyning this garrison, which is for the security of this island, and consequently of the lands and livings which these people enjoyes, I shall therefore secure the said 2000 sherapheens, by having it deposited untill His Majesties further order; as I shall proceed in the same manner with him that hath the patent for the customes of 3½ per cent. at Maim, conceiving that, now our Kings Majestie is absolute king and lord of this island and the King of Portugalls dominion and governement ceasing, all merces,[2] as donatives of the like nature, ceaseth alsoe with his governement. Many more suchlike matters I suppose may present themselves herafter; of all which I shall take such care as His Majesties interrest shall not in the least bee prejudiced; but being newly arrived and entred into this government, and these Christians that had offices in it being most unwilling to discover unto mee the trueth of things, it is impossible to bee acquainted as yet of that which time will make manifest. When that I had proceeded thus far, I was informed of a bussiness of importance, which is, that the Bandarins[3] of this island, a sort of people who gaine a livelyhood by drawing of tody (a liquor distilling from the coco nut tree), paid formerly unto the Foreirors Mayores[4] or Senhorios of the severall cossabeys[5] or townes a duty called Coito,[6] that is, for the knife wherewith they prune their trees, amounting unto about 700 or 800*l.* per annum, which falls now to His Majestie; which, together with what more may bee discovered and collected of His Majesties rents, importing at present (which as yet is come to my knowledge) in circa to 1500*l.* per annum, it will bee a helpe towards the payment and mainteynance of this his garrison. I have at last (after much enquiry

[1] See nos. 75, 76 in the same volume.

[2] Port. *mercê*, a grant.

[3] Mahr. *Bhandāri*, a toddy-drawer.

[4] Chief tenants.

[5] Hind. *kasaba*, the chief place of a *pargana*.

[6] Marāthi *koyti*, a knife or sickle. A letter from the Company to Surat, 27 March, 1668, mentions among the revenues of Bombay 'cotto, or whetting of knives', producing 2,000 pardaos.

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made) obtained a coppy of the forall [1] of the mandowin [2] or registring house (a kind of a customehouse) of Maim, which I herewith send alsoe for your perusall.[3] By the same you will discover how far the limits of the said mandowin reaches, and what places are subordinate and paies duties unto it. . . . Whilst [i. e. until] I shall receive further orders from his Majestie for the encouragement of marchants to come to [in]habit and have commerce in this port, I have imposed 4½ per centum custome uppon all merchandize to bee imported or exported, vizt. 3 per centum to bee added to His Majesties cash and 1½ per centum towards the defraying of the charges of custome house officers; but at Maim the duties that hertofore were paid to that mandowin are, vizt. 3½ per centum, which goes to Francisco Murzelo Coutinho aforementioned, 2 per centum, called consulado,[4] 1 per centum imposizon,[5] besides some other petty duties, wherof a just accompt is kept in a booke apart by the Customer.

In another postscript written on 18 March Cooke acknowledges the receipt from Oxenden of the balance of the money due, but complains that, instead of 10,550 rials of eight that should have been sent, 21,625 rupees 12 pice have been forwarded as an equivalent. Since the rupees will not go for more than 2*s.* 3*d.* each (as against 4*s.* 9*d.* for the rial), there will be a loss of 72*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*, which Cooke considers should be made good by Alderman Backwell. A further postscript, added the following day, says that, according to report, the Jesuits and other Portuguese have written to their friends in England, urging them to solicit King Charles

To confirme their old pattents, as alsoe the coito beforementioned, taverns, and shopps, with other more exacting tributes, not well lookt upon by tradsmen, especially the latter; which if hee grants, hee will not have any considerable matter left towards the defraying of this vast charge hee is at of mainteyning this his garrison.

In the whole of this long report Cooke does not mention the name of Gary, though it is clear that the latter had been his right-hand man in all the measures he had taken, the credit for which he evidently desired to reserve for himself. He did, however, do something privately to advance the interests of his assistant, for, in

[1] Port. *foral*, a register of what was due to the King.
[2] Guj. and Mahr. *māndavi*, a store-house, and hence a custom house.
[3] See nos. 68, 69 in the same volume, and ff. 22–8 in vol. x.
[4] Port. *consulado*, the office of a consul.
[5] Port. *imposição*, a tax or excise.

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writing[1] (4 March) to Thomas Povey (who had considerable influence at court), about the estate of the latter's brother Charles, he, after mentioning that he had written both to the King and to the Duke of York, said:

Mr. Henry Gary (I understand) you are a well wisher to. Hee hath bin effectually officious in this rendition, and hath done His Majestie good service. I have nominated him Cheife Customer of this place, and some other things that will bee beneficiall unto him, that hee and his family may live, Sir George Oxinden not having requited him att all for his many yeares service for the East India Company. If you can prevaile that the Kings Majestie confirmes him in the place aforesaid of Cheife Customer, it will bee a place of good requitall for his zeale to His Majesties service, and I question not but hee will know how to bee thankfull to you for your good wishes.

However, if Cooke was unwilling to give Gary full credit for his assistance, the latter was quite capable of pushing his claims himself. On 16 February he had written via Surat to Lord Arlington, narrating his services and pressing for a permanent appointment.[2] He took credit for having been mainly instrumental in securing the surrender of Bombay to Cooke and the transport of the expeditionary force to that island; and he then proceeded to detail the efforts he was making to secure settlers.

My endeavours at present beeing to draw hither as many merchants (Banians as well as Moores and Persians) as possibly I cann from Suratt, Cambaya, Ahmadavad, Boroach, Diu, Tahtah, etc. other places; unto whom yf His Majesty will but graunt liberty to buyld them pagados and mesquitas to excercise theyr religion publiquely in, noe doubt then but this will bee made a very famous and opulent port; hopeing that my service to my King may merrit his favor of beeing boath his factour and cheiff modeler and dispatcher of his customehowse affayres of this island and port of Bombaim; which I question not but to performe to greate satisfaction.

He then emphasized the necessity of obtaining from the Portuguese free access to Kalyān without paying dues at Thāna, and the advisability of building some light vessels for convoy work. His

[1] P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 92. Povey's interest in Gary is shown by an entry on p. 30 of *The Court Minutes, &c., of the East India Company*, 1660–63.

[2] *Ibid.*, nos. 83, 84. These differ slightly in phrasing, and we follow the second, which is clearer and fuller than the other.

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language on both points is so similar to the corresponding passages in Cooke's later letter as to leave little doubt that either the latter was in effect quoting from some memorandum by Gary, or else Gary had had a hand in drafting the letter signed by Cooke.

The dispatch of Thorne overland with Cooke's dispatches enabled Gary to send Lord Arlington a transcript of the above-mentioned letter, together with a fresh one dated 22 March (*ibid.*, no. 84). In this he again urged the necessity of securing freedom from Portuguese duties on goods passing between Bombay and the inland ports. Should any difficulty be made in granting that concession,

The remedy must bee found out heere, by impeding all such boats as belongs to the Portuguezes to navigate in this bay, notwithstanding Antonio de Mello de Castro (at present Vizorey of India) his apuntamentos,[1] vizt. the first and second things of his owne erecting, many of them not having any consonancy with the 11th artickle of [the] treaty betweene the two Crownes. There are severall places uppon the maine belonging unto Sevagee not farr from us, to which wee may freely goe and where the caravans might also come out of Hyndostan and Decan without coming neere the Portuguezes jurisdiction, with paying but a small custume unto him; but hee is so greate a robber that it is to bee doubted that merchants will scarse runn the hazard of having theyr goods brought or carryed through his country; tho some are of oppinion that, giving his oath, hee will religiously keepe it. The Greate Mogull, Orangzeb, hath sent a greate army against him, consisting of above 100,000 horse. Yf hee prevaile and take his country from him, which lyeth betweene us and Chaul, it will bee very happy for this island; for then all manner of merchandize will bee brought downe to us in greate quantitys, and then no doubt but this will be the most florishing port of the Orient. But heere must necessaryly bee six brigantins or more, not only to scoure and keepe the coaste free from Malabars, but likewise to give convoy and atendance on the fleetes that lades rice, cairo [coir], coco nuts, salt, suger, etc. other commodities, boath heere and at Maim, for severall parts of India, as also for the Gulph of Persia and Redd Sea; the aforesaid rovers beeing so bold, in regard of this deffect of light and nimble vessells (so much wanting unto us) to give them chase, that many times since our having possesion of this island they have come in this bay and ridd within sight of His Majestys flag; which is no small dishonor, boath to it and the

[1] The conditions (*apontamentos*) of the surrender of the island, see p. 38.

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nation. I well know not how the Easte India Company will proceede as to matter of theyr trade, now that His Majesty (much against theyr wills) hath possesion of this island. I have therefor in case they should give over and His Majesty or His Royall Highnesse [the Duke of York] should entertaine thoughts of prosecuting the trade, drawne out a list of the severall commoditys that are proper for this Indian mart.[1]

Care must be exercised in choosing a trustworthy and experienced person to manage the trade, and timely warning would be necessary, in order that an investment might be started. Letters of credit should also be sent, directed to 'Virgee Vorà, Chout Tackur, and Heridass Benwalidass,[2] Banians in Suratt', to furnish the requisite money. Gary trusted that the King would appoint him to this duty,

Hoping hee will consider me for the service I have allready don him, I performing the dutys of Secretary, Cheiff Customer, and Muster Master at present, without any maner of consideration for the same.

That Gary's advocacy of religious freedom for the inhabitants of Bombay rested largely upon a conviction of its material expediency is suggested by a proposal that follows.

Heere is uppon this island a tanque or pond of watter, neere unto which many yeeres since stood a pagode or temple,[3] where in the latter the Banians worshipped and in the former purifyied them selves, multitudes of Banians resorting to it to this day, boath from neere and remot places, to wash them selves. But when the temple was standing, those that came to doe theyr devotions accounted not theyr vou of theyr pilgrimage accomplised without the expence of an offering; and yf His Majesty would but permitt them to erect theyr temple againe, I am confident the benefit that would bee reaped by it would bee so considerable, by a voluntary tributt every one would give, as that it would much helpe towards the maintenance of this his garison. Neither would the permission of this bee more scandalous unto our Christian religion than His Hollinesse permiting in Rome the Jews (who chrucifyied our Blessed Saviour) to have publique sinagogues, the

[1] See the same volume, nos. 65, 105.

[2] Vīrji Vora, Chhota Thākur, and Haridās Benvallidās.

[3] This may have been either the shrine of Mumba Devi, which stood near the *Phansi Talao* or Gallows Pond (a site now included in the enclosure of the Victoria railway station), or else the old temple of Wālkeshwar, not far from Malabar Point. Fryer (ed. Crooke, vol. i. p. 176) saw on the seaward slope of Malabar Hill 'the remains of a stupendious pagod, near a tank of fresh water, which the Malabars visited it mostly for'.

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King of Poland, Republique of Venice, Greate Duque of Tuscany, and many other princes and republiques permitting them the same priviledge without beeing looked uppon as scandalous.

Finally, Gary expressed the opinion that, should a war in Europe between England and Holland result in an English victory, the ascendancy of the Dutch 'in these parts' would soon be at an end, as they were very unpopular with the Indians on the Malabar Coast, who only waited an opportunity to rise against them.

Gary evidently left no means untried to achieve his object, for the document which forms no. 66 in the same volume was doubtless due to his instigation. This is a translation of an undated representation from certain Portuguese at Goa, transmitted apparently to the Portuguese ambassador in London. It declared that Gary had rendered important serviees to both nations and that it would be very acceptable to the Portuguese in those parts (the Viceroy would certainly not have agreed as to this) if he were now employed by King Charles 'in some places of trust and qualitie', such as 'His Majesties Merchant and Cheef Customer'. Queen Catherine was accordingly urged to use her good offices with her husband for that purpose.

Another letter in Thorne's packet was one addressed by John Stevens, the captain of the *Chestnut*, to the Navy Commissioners, dated 11 March.[1] In this he complained that no arrangements had been made for the necessary payments on account of his vessel. Shipman and Cooke had nevertheless defrayed the cost of repairing and victualling her, and had advanced enough to enable him to pay the crew five months' wages; but the men were discontented at not receiving more, seeing that the soldiers were paid regularly every month. Stevens had urged Cooke to send the *Chestnut* to England, but the latter was unwilling to spend the money that would be needed to renew her rigging and victual her for the voyage, and pleaded that he had no orders. The Commissioners were begged to send out a supply of money, to take steps to relieve Stevens's wife and family, and to permit him to return to England.

Thorne's departure from Surat 'on a junck for Bussora' on 5 April is chronicled in the Surat letter to the Company of that date. He appears to have reached London about a year later. He had

[1] P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 96.

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been detained at Aleppo for eight weeks for want of a ship, and at Marseilles for a still longer period owing to lack of money (see his letter in P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 20).

The alarm excited by Cooke's proceedings is shown by two petitions (*ibid.*, vol. xi. ff. 35, 36) addressed to the King of Portugal in March, 1665, by Bernardin de Tavora and Francisco Murzelo Coutinho, asking for protection.

On 13 May Cooke issued a proclamation requiring all inhabitants of the island between the ages of 14 and 60 to appear at his head-quarters with any arms in their possession; and he thereupon administered to them an oath of allegiance, which included a renunciation of any outside authority, temporal or spiritual.[1] This was interpreted by the Portuguese as an interference with the religious freedom guaranteed to the Roman Catholics of Bombay, and both actions—as also Gary's activity in enticing away weavers from Chaul and other places—led in May to an acrimonious controversy between Cooke and Ignacio Sarmento de Carvalho, the Captain-General of the North.[2] The Viceroy himself was next embroiled in the dispute. As we have seen (p. 46), Cooke had demanded that the revenues drawn from Bombay from the time of Marlborough's arrival in 1662 to the actual date of the transfer should be made good to him, on the ground that during that period the island had been wrongly withheld from the English. Naturally, De Mello de Castro repudiated the claim; and he took the opportunity to protest against Cooke's seizure of Māhīm and his failure in other instances to observe the capitulations.[3] At the close of the year the Viceroy wrote to his King enumerating these breaches, and adding that they were instigated by Henry Gary, who was 'a terrible heretic'. With regard to Cooke's claim that the Māhīm district was part of Bombay, because it was possible at low tide to walk across the intervening channel, the Viceroy pointed out that the same reasoning might be used to justify the seizure of Salsette Island. He declared that the Portuguese of the North would have taken up arms and driven out the English, had he not soothed them with assurances that the King was already in treaty

[1] Biker's *Tratados*, vol. iii, pp. 77, 78.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 78–87. See also P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 109.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 88–93. See also P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. nos. 110, 135.

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for purchasing back the island. It was, however, possible that, before anything could be done in Europe, the Dutch would have captured Bombay from the English. Cooke had of late changed his tone of bravado for one of humble entreaty; but it would be dangerous for the Portuguese to embroil themselves with the Dutch by giving open assistance to their enemy.[1]

The reference in the above to negotiations between Lisbon and London for the retrocession of Bombay requires some explanation. We have seen (p. 136 of the preceding volume) that in December, 1662, the Viceroy had proposed to his sovereign that the English claim should be compromised by a money payment, towards which, he was convinced, the inhabitants of Portuguese India would gladly make substantial contributions. To this the King replied on 15 April, 1665 (N.S.), declaring that he had negotiated with Charles II, who appeared to be willing to entertain the idea of selling the island but wanted a very large sum for it. The Viceroy was accordingly directed to collect and remit as soon as possible all the contributions he could procure, on the understanding that, if the negotiations came to nothing, the money would be used against the Dutch instead.[2] It would seem, however, that the Viceroy found that he had been mistaken in his estimate of the possibility of obtaining money in India for such a purpose.

Some light is thrown upon these negotiations by the papers included among the *State Papers, Portugal*, in the Public Record Office. From these it appears (vol. vi. f. 243) that early in 1664 King Alfonso dispatched Francisco Fereira Rebello to London, ostensibly to satisfy King Charles that instructions had been sent to the Viceroy to hand over Bombay without further ado, but really to negotiate for the repurchase of the island. Charles expressed his willingness to agree to this, provided he were adequately compensated for the expenditure he had incurred and for the value of the territory to be surrendered. The amount he demanded was 229,862*l.* 14*s.*; but as this sum was obviously greater than the Portuguese could pay, Charles intimated orally that he would

[1] Biker's *Tratados*, vol. iii. p. 94. For an English version see Da Cunha's *Origin of Bombay*, p. 265 and Danvers's *Portuguese in India*, vol. ii. p. 355.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 76, and Da Cunha's *Origin of Bombay*, p. 259. The letter is also printed at p. 461 of Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan's *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay*.

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be satisfied if King Alfonso ' would lay downe a somme that might be considerable, proportioned rather to the necessity of his present affaires ' than to the amount demanded. With this answer Rebello returned to Lisbon in the spring of 1665 (vol. vii. ff. 1, 13, 15, 145–9). The Portuguese seem to have remained confident of a favourable issue to the negotiations; for writing on 3 August, 1665, Thomas Maynard, the British consul at Lisbon, said that the news of the actual transfer of Bombay had proved a great blow to the court, because ' they thought that all difficulties for not delyveringe that place according to articles were overcome and the place to remaine in thire possession ' (*ibid.*, f. 63). Still, King Alfonso and his advisers were not daunted, and a few months later the negotiations were renewed. On 14 February, 1666, Don Francisco de Mello, the Portuguese ambassador in London, wrote to the English sovereign (*ibid.*, ff. 145–9) that his master had instructed him to renew the former offer, in spite of the fact that Bombay had now been formally transferred. Evidently the agitation against the surrender of the island had strongly impressed the Lisbon authorities, for the ambassador said:

> The scandal and complaints of his subjects from all hands encresing daylye, to his great disturbance at home as well as in India, where they yet expresse in their many and pressing instances hopes of returning to live under His Majesties obedience in more secure possession of their propperty and free enjoyment of their religion, the King my master, thinking him selfe obliged to endeavour the peace and quiet of his people by all possible meanes, hath comanded me to continue and prosecute a treaty of satisfaction.

Don Francisco hoped that, in regard to the compensation to be given, King Charles would show his wonted consideration for the financial distresses of his royal relative; and he pointed out that ' the conveniences of that island are att very present very inconsiderable ', that the expense and trouble of sending supplies thither were immense, and that Bombay was in great danger, if it remained in English hands, of being captured by the Dutch, to the serious detriment of both kingdoms. However, the proposal came to nothing. The financial distresses of Portugal, owing to the lengthy war with Spain, were notorious. King Alfonso could not find money even to pay the expenses of the English troops sent to his

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assistance, and a great portion of the dowry promised to King Charles with his Portuguese bride was still owing. A cash payment, which was the only consideration likely to secure the retrocession of Bombay, was therefore out of the question. The unpopularity of King Charles's surrender of Dunkirk to France may have been a further deterrent.

The reference to the danger of a Dutch attack upon Bombay bring us back to our chronicle of events. On the arrival at Surat of the *African* (4 September), bringing news that war with the Dutch had actually broken out, the President and Council wrote (9 September) to acquaint Cooke with that important intelligence and to forward a packet from His Majesty, addressed to Shipman, whose death was not known in England at the date of its dispatch. The authorities at home, alarmed for the safety of the expeditionary force at Anjidiv, and fearing a Dutch attack upon it, had concluded an agreement with the East India Company,[1] by which part of the force was to be carried to England in the *African* and the *St. George*, while the remainder was to be transported to Fort St. George and incorporated in the garrison there. Instructions were accordingly given by the Company to the President and Council at Surat to effect these operations, and a letter from the Duke of York to Captain Stevens, of the *Chestnut*, directing him to place himself at Oxenden's disposal for that purpose, was also forwarded. These arrangements naturally fell through in the changed circumstances.

Cooke replied to Oxenden's letter on 20 September, the day after its receipt. He had, he said, already heard of the outbreak of war;

> Which hath caused me to take a resolution upon me not only to fortifie but likewise maintaine this place (as hath allso all my officers and souldiers unanimously done the same) to the very last, by Gods assistance. . . . The shipp or shipps arrived (or that may arrive) with you from England this monsoon, together with the men, would (in case you should not returne them) be very usefull here for the help and defence of this His Majesties port and island, wee having had a mortallity amongst us these last raines of some 30 men. So that I earnestly desire you to take this into your

[1] See *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 42, pp. 115, 120; P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 106; and *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1670, p. 700.

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consideration, it being a thing of so great importance, in case wee should be assaulted by the enemy.[1]

He also asked for a supply of medicines, proffering payment either in India or in England, though he would prefer the latter, 'because mony is very scant with us'.

To this letter a reply was sent on 2 October. Cooke's resolve to defend Bombay was warmly praised. A promise was given that he should be supplied with medicines as far as these were procurable. It was explained that the *African* could not be detained in India without violating the Company's instructions and the conditions of the charter-party; and moreover Captain Harman was strongly opposed to any such employment of his vessel. As for Cooke's want of money, it was quite out of the power of the Council to supply him with any, in the absence of express authority from home.

Cooke's answer was dated 26 October. He urged his great need of money, and suggested that, since the Company's funds could not be drawn upon for the purpose, Oxenden might do the King a service by advancing 1,500*l.* or 2,000*l.* 'out of his owne stock', accepting in return a bill upon the Treasurer of the Navy.

Our works are allready in a good forwardnesse, having allmost all things in a readinesse to indure a seige, in case our enemies should invest us; but our cheifest want is mony to raise men. So that how to levie as many as will defend and maintaine this fort I well know not how to effect without it; which puts me allmost at my witts end; which once more makes me desire Sir George Oxinden to take it into his serious consideration, intreating you allso that, if there be in Surat of our nation any supernumeraries, and that may be spared [from] your Companies service, that you would be pleased to send them hither with all the expedition that may be, to joine with our small forces; for in this allso you will doe the King my master very good service. . . . You need not strange at my want of mony . . . if you will but consider that I have been at upwards of 240*l.* per mensem charge to pay the souldiery ever since December last out of the last supply sent out [from] England, besides what hath been disbursed in erecting of a new platforme etc. other expences which are unavoidable, especially at this time that wee must furnish our selves with many utensills for warre and are at present raising new fortifications . . . [*PS.*] I have received lately letters, both from the Vice Roy of India and

[1] That the Dutch contemplated making an attack upon Bombay is shown in a letter from Batavia to Surat of 13 September, 1665 (N.S.), in *Hague Transcripts*, series iii. vol. vi (A 11).

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Captain Generall of the North, that for certaine the Hollander intends to make an attempt upon this island very suddenly. . . .

Oxenden and his Council replied on 8 November. With regard to his lending money for the King's service, the President said frankly that

Hee is not in a present capacity to doe it. And that it may appeare to the world that this his pretence is not fained, hee is now constrained, for the clearing thereof, to publish somewhat more then hee hath hitherto been willing should have been knowne nor (had it not been for this occation) would have been to his reputation; which is (as hee saith) his great unhappiness that in his last voyage for India hee became intregu'd with his employers, upon an urgent occation there was, to mix his whole personall estate with theirs, to the amount of many thousand pounds; who, possessing themselves therewith, found pretences to keepe it from him, involving him in many troublesome sutes of law,[1] which are (for ought hee knowes) depending to this day, and when or whether they will end in his ruine, time must manifest. And thus much hee hath further to say, that those troubles by the detention of his estate brought him to so low an ebb that hee can (when lawfully called) make oath that hee brought not any personall estate with him, saving what was his necessaryes and a small parcell of plate for his owne use. And how bad the times have been since hee came forth for the getting of any thing, hee leaves to your selfe as the best judge (having actually laboured to doe something that way). And now that hee hath laid himselfe so open as nothing but this occation should have perswaded him to doe, the greatest civillity and favour you can shew him is to keepe this great secret to your selfe; which hee heartily desires of you, considering that every mans outward garb cannot possibly discover his inward condition, as you see now this of his is, although hee beleives you would little have suspected it. Else would hee express his zeale as high as any mans, for hee referrs to all that have been acquainted with him from his youth up, who can very well testifie that hee is no new convert in his affections to His Sacred Majesty. . . . As to what you move us in concerning more men, Sir George Oxinden saith hee hath spared you all his two ships companyes *Royall Welcom* and *Hopewell*, except it be some few who have shipped themselves on board the *Affrican* in the rome of those that dyed, and that here

[1] The dispute (which related to the voyage of the *King Fernandez*) nearly led to the rescinding of Oxenden's appointment; see *Court Minutes, &c., of the East India Company*, 1660–3, pp. 144, 146. Some particulars are given in a printed paper at the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. xi. f. 222). The controversy was still going on in 1673–4; see the Ninth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, appendix ii. p. 32.

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are not any left except the commander, Mr. Griffin, and his purser, with one or two more that keepe the ship. But wee observe some here that drive a kind of trade betwixt you and this place, that first went hence under the pretence of their desires to serve His Majesty on the island of Bombaim; and therefore it is but reason you should detaine them as they come thither and make them so good as their promise.

The endeavours of Cooke and Gary to draw settlers to Bombay produced trouble at Surat. On 13 December the President and his Council wrote as follows to Bombay.

It was the 6 present when the President wrote you [*not extant*] in particular by expresse, inclosing a pacquett to you from Ensigne Thorne, with such news as he received from Bussora. Since which we have to advise you that the Kings Intelligencer [1] of this towne hath given many informations up to court, which hath caus'd severall letters to be writt downe to this Governour concerning our Kings Majesties settling his souldiery on Bombaim; enordering a strict inquisition into your actions there and what new fortifications you have erected since your taking possession of the iland, togeather with many other particulars from advices gonne up from hence; which caused this Governour to give us a greate deale of trouble and would have commanded us to write to you to desist from further fortifying; which he backt with menaces and threats that he would turne us out of his country. Our answer was that we were strangers and upon permittance, and that it was the Kings country [and] he might doe with us as he pleased; but it lay not in our power to forbid or enorder anything there with you, being His Majestie of England our Kings officers and people, whose subjects we were, and that the government was independant to ours, who were noe other then merchants and therefore dare not presume to concerne ourselves in state affaires. Next he told us that the King was greately offended that we endeavour'd to inveigle and draw away his subjects and strangers that frequented his port, to goe and inhabit with you, which was designed to destroy and draw away all trade from hence. This we stoutly denyed; whereupon this Governour proceeded to summon all the merchants in towne and cause them one by one to signe a paper how that we had not labour'd to draw off any of them; which they confirmed under hand and seale, on a penalty and forfeiture unto the King in case it could hereafter be prooved to the contrary. This went on untill it came to Cojah Minnas [Khwāja Minaz], the President for the Armenians, to firme and seale; who boggl'd at it and,

[1] i. e. the *Wāki'a-navīs*, or news-writer, whose business it was to keep the Emperor informed of all events of importance.

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fearing least it should in time be discover'd what had passt between your selfe and him, produced an instrument, signed and sealed by you, that invited him thither, declaring what priviledges should be allowed him, if he and his nation would remoove thither; which was noe sooner given tō the Governour but we were sent for againe thither and charged as before; which we still opposed. Whereupon the Governour shewed the President the writing you had sent to Cojah Minnas; which having read, we told him we were not privy to the writing, and that it was probable he had invited himselfe first;* whereupon we received very hard language from him, and as hard usage since. But we thought all had been passed over, untill a day or two since we are acquainted that there is both a phirmaund from the King and husball huccum [1] (which is a writing passed by the Kings immediate order upon this Governour) that one Syed Mahmud, a factious and troublesome person once Customer here, is enordred to be sent downe to view your workes and place and give an accomptt thereof to this King; whereupon we are again sent for and commanded to give a letter of recommendations to you to admitt him; which we refused, telling the Governour it was not accustomary to admitt of strangers to view fortifications or suffer them to come into castles, of which there was not any on the iland. This our denyall did much offend him, that we know not but he may force such a paper from us; and in case he doe, it shall extend noe further then you please to admitt. However, we thought good to preacquaint you with what hath passt before his coming, and referr all to you, who best know what is to be done in such cases. Wee on our parts shall be contented rather to be sufferers and hazard all then any of our Kings Majesties intrest should receive the least prejudice.

To this letter Cooke replied on 25 December, stating how he proposed to deal with Sayyid Mahmūd.

If he doe [come] in way of a spy, I shall, according to my duty, doe justice upon him; but if he come as an envoy, he shall be treated accordingly, though not admitted either to approach, much lesse to view, them [i. e. the fortifications]. And then, if convenient, I shall shew him Cojah Minas his letter, to manifest unto him what a jugler he hath proved himselfe, in first inviting himselfe to come to live among us and then to cause so much trouble as hath allready been and is like to insue upon his treacherous proceedings.

Cooke expressed regret for the harsh usage the English at Surat were receiving from the Governor, and suggested that they should,

[1] *Hasb-ul-hukm* (see the last volume, p. 312).

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if necessary, take refuge at Bombay. In their letter to the Company of 1 January, 1666, the President and Council, after alluding to the demands made upon them by Cooke for monetary assistance, proceeded to give an account of the disputes with the Governor described above. This adds a few fresh details. It appears that the Governor had been severely blamed by Aurangzeb for not having advised him that the English were fortifying Bombay; also that Cooke's action in this direction was defended by Oxenden on the ground that an attack from the Dutch was feared. The Governor declared, among other things, that

> This King was inform'd that we sent our ships thither and that we had begunne our trade of egresse and regresse from thence; which we told him was not true, for hitherto our ships had imported and received their lading and dispatches from hence; but how soone it might be otherwise we knew not, or, as servants, was it for us to enquire into.

Cooke's invitation to the Armenians of Surat to remove to Bombay included, it seems, a promise of 'land to build them houses and warehouses, also a church for the service of God'. The Governor read to Oxenden the letter from Aurangzeb,

> In which he was very particular and seem'd to be much concern'd, saying therein that he had also wrote to his ministers at Chowle [Chaul], not only to prevent any egresse and regresse from those parts, but also desir'd a particular accomptt from them of what was done upon the iland.

The Council's answer on these matters had been sent to Court, and they were waiting to hear the result. They feared that further trouble was impending and trusted that the Company would direct them how to act.

> The people there [Bombay] live very loose lives and ungovern'd, for want of an experienc'd and able person to command them, that we fear His Majestie may loose his intrest in those parts in case he doe not [send such a one?]. Yet give us leave humbly to offer our opinions concerning those troubles that will necessarily arise, should you speedily command our remoovall thither, on your presuming that it may be better and safer for you; to which we answer that greate care must be taken herein, first, that there be a through and full settlement on the place, establisht under a prudent and able Governour and other ministers, such persons as

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will lay aside all selfe ends for the generall good; secondly, that you first see that there be egresse and regresse of merchants that frequent the port, which will aske some yeares concourse of merchants before it be fitt you draw off from hence (which will be difficult); lastly, if you should suddainly remoove this Presidency, we opine you would be at a losse for goods to lade your ships home, in reguard, when such a thing shall happen, this King and people will certainly be your enemies, not suffring you to take off any goods from this place but stop all places of land convaighance throughout all his dominions, which extend to the southward of Bombaim as farr as Chowle, now that he hath worsted that grand rebell Sevagy, who, finding himselfe overpowred by his sending of numerous armies upon him, hath submitted himselfe, delivering up to this Kings Gennerall upward of 30 castles and strongholds, togeather with all the countries belonging to them, and accepted of this Kings pay of 5,000 horse; yet we cannot heare that he hath resign'd himselfe personally, but done all this by treaty, keeping to himselfe some few of his strongest castles for his retirement.[1] This victory thus obtain'd over him is very pleasing to the King, and hath made him way to assault Vizapore [Bījāpur], the greate metropolis of Deccan, who before was tributary but refus'd to pay his annuall tribute for some yeares, whilst Sevagy was powerfull and stood as a wall and partition between them; who, now that he is worsted, is willing to pay his arrears, if this King will withdraw his army from further assaulting him; and yet 'tis thought by some that Sevagy hath an after game to play still. This discourse hath carry'd us away from what we were upon, concerning your remooving this your factory to Bombaim; to which we have only this to add, an humble offer of our opinions that it would be best and safest for you to settle a small factory there first, continuing your head factory and cheife tytle to be in Surratt, whilst those there are subordinate; which will not soe much be taken notice of, and may endeavour to draw a trade downe out of Deccan, and soe be buying of what comes in, for the encouragement of merchants to frequent the port; which goods may be either brought up by your ships that goe to the southward for pepper (which may be done without any further charge), or, if not, one of the ships design'd home, being dispeeded 5 or 6 days earlier then the other, may call there and receive it in, and be in a readinesse to sayle with the other ships, they calling upon her as they goe, or otherwise meet at St. Hellena. Likewise, that you would (if to be accomplisht) procure an order from thence for a sufficient platt of ground to be allotted you in a convenient place, for warehouses, store houses, and a dwelling house for your factors, etc. conveniencies;

[1] See note on p. 36.

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all which must be erected, there being nothing of that nature at present.

Meanwhile, on the island itself things were going none too smoothly. During the rains sickness had worked havoc among the garrison; money was scarce; and the roseate anticipations of an early influx of merchants and other well-to-do settlers had not been fulfilled. Moreover, although this did not appear on the surface, Cooke's rule had produced bitter resentment among his principal assistants, Gary, Stevens, and Ball. On 23 December, 1665, the Lieutenant-Governor sent home a further report to Lord Arlington.[1] In this he relates his controversy with the Portuguese authorities over the occupation of Māhīm.

They would have Maim and Bombaim to bee two severall islands, but cannot well make it out. I never tooke boate to pass our men when I tooke the possesion of it, and at all times you may goe from one place to the other dryshod. . . . Maim is the best part of this island, and they thinke it to[o] good for our Kings Majesty; but befor they have it againe (except His Majesty please to enorder it to them) it shall bee long enough by my consent. They since begin to bee sensible of theyr errors and are very quiet. I thinke they thought to have frighted us out of what was His Majestys due with theyr greate words and threatnings; but seeing it doeth not prevaile, they find it theyr best way to bee quiet.

Cooke then refers to his demand upon the Viceroy for the back revenues of the island.

Hee answered me that what hee had received hee spent in keepeing garison in this said island for our Kings Majesty.[2] I demaunded what orders hee had for that, our Kings Majesty having a Governour and souldjery of his owne for the said purpose. On this I have had severall letters to and againe, but I cann gett no monys.

Cooke sent a protest to Goa, but has received no reply, and, from the enclosed copy of a note [3] from the Secretary there, he concludes that the Viceroy does not intend to answer.

The Portugalls on the maine and neighbouring places in these parts, some have lands on this island and many inhabitants heere

[1] P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 142. It is in Gary's handwriting, a task which would fall to him in his capacity of Secretary, but the language is Cooke's. The letter is endorsed as received 19 February, 1667. Professor Khan has printed it in full (p. 475).

[2] This is rather a travesty of the Viceroy's reply. [3] See no. 135 in the same volume.

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have lands there. So that I have bein forced (to excuse a comfusion) to settle the civill law among them in this island; the which hath hugely pleased boath partys. Among our selves is marshall law. And for religion, liberty of conscience is given to all.

He next confesses the failure of the attempts made to attract traders, and proposes that the Company's factors should be forced to remove from Surat to Bombay.

This island is hitherto but a meere fishing place, and as yett no merchant of quallity nor any else is come to settle heere, nor will not while [i.e. until] a trade begins; which must bee done by His Majestys enordering all the Companys shipps to lade and unlade heere, and the factory of Suratt to bee removed hither. Theyre very custume only will goe neere to pay the garison and a great animating for others to come to live heere; and noe question in few yeares will reape a large bennefitt for His Majesty. In the interim hee cannot expect but to bee at a yearely charge by sending supplyes, in regard the rents of this island are so small, all not ammounting unto above 1000*l.* per annum. And although in my last to Your Lordship the last yeare I writt about a rent that did belong to the King, that might import to about 700 or 800*l.* per annum, for the knife that was to prune the cocer nutt tree, it hath proved incerto [i.e. doubtful], for since by papers I find it belongs to the owners or foreiros of the ground, for which they pay unto His Majesty what appeares by theyr foralls; so that it proved a fals information. These last raines hath proved very pestilentiall to our menn, having lost by death and runn away 51, as appeares by the enclosed list of theyr names [*missing*]; which, in our small quantity, hath much weakened us, allthough I entertaine all, what English, French, or Sweds,[1] that comes. The last yeare [2] I made an end of fortifying this house towards the sea, by the building of a large plattforme 51 yards long, wherein cann play 18 peeces of large ordinance. It hath cost His Majesty monyes, but is the best piece in India and secures all the roade. It 's made as strong as lime and stone cann make it, and no question will last for many hundered yeares. I have likewise repaired the two slight bulworks and made them substantiall against battery.

Cooke acknowledges the receipt of Lord Arlington's letter of 27 March, 1665, announcing the measures taken to carry home the soldiers, should they still be at Anjidiv—an arrangement no longer applicable.

The which letter and contract I caused publiquely to bee redd in

[1] From the Swedish ship at Goa (see p. 36).

[2] Ending 24 March, 1665.

our garison, that all might understand the greate care His Majesty hath had of us to bee at such a vast charge to transport us home after so greate a losse and not having don him as yett any service; whose most gratious favor hath so much oblidged all in generall that I am comfident they will all venter theyr lives on theyr bare knees to do him service. . . . In regard wee were ordered home, His Majesty sent us no supplys of monys this yeare, and its imposible the souldjery cann live without its pay; heere beeing nothing to be had but for our monys, and not one man that liveth uppon this island is able to trust us for a dayes victualling. They have it not, beeing most of them fishermen.

The letter goes on to complain of Oxenden's refusal to supply Cooke with funds.

So that, I having a little mony of my owne and of some freinds in England, I hope I shall bee able to rubb out whilest [i.e. until] September next 1666; which otherwise this garison could not have subsisted, and consequently His Majestys interest lost. All this sommer I have bein ordering and makeing fortifications to the landward for a place of security, which as yett is not quite made an end of. Heere inclosed Your Lordship will receive its ruff draught,[1] which bee pleased to shew unto His Majesty. It 's all done with turffe and cocernutt trees, 14 foote hygh round. With little repayring it will last for many yeares, all beeing cannon

[1] There seems to be good reason for identifying this 'ruff draught' with the undated plan of 'Bombaim' (23 in. by 17 in.) in the Public Record Office Museum, which has been reproduced as frontispiece to the present volume. The lettering appears to be in Gary's hand and there is every probability that the plan was his production. It shows (A) two sides of the original *quinta* or dwelling-house of Senhora de Miranda, which had now become the English head-quarters. B and C may be the two bulwarks likewise taken over from the Portuguese and strengthened; while M and N—a garden-house and a banqueting-house respectively—are also part of the original buildings. This outlying portion, which overlooked a large pond (Q), was protected by temporary bastions and a platform mounting a number of guns; and from these bastions a strong stockade ran on either side to the main building, two further bastions (F and H) being arranged to sweep the ground in front of the palisades. Access to the enclosure was gained by a small sally-port (P) close under B, and by an opening, defended by a gun, at O.

As shown by the compass-rose in the centre, the main axis of the fort lay north and south. This is confirmed by the drawing, dated 2 April, 1668, given in Ovington's *Voyage to Suratt* (p. 147), which shows only a slight margin between the sea and the stockade E–F, and the pond as lying near the sea-shore. Ovington's plan is very like the one here given, with the addition of a range of stables in the centre of the enclosure.

We may recall Dr. John Fryer's lamentation (1673) over the disappearance of the original garden in favour of the 'hardy cannon', 'bold rampires', and fences 'of a more warlike force' (ed. Crooke, vol. i. p. 165). The plan also makes it clear that the views of the English head-quarters given by Baldaeus in his *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge uan Malabar* (1672) were taken before Cooke constructed his fortifications.

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proofe. This worke would have cost His Majesty 5,000*l.* to have concluded it; but I hope it will not cost him 100*l.*, for I have taken such care to have all the islanders to worke by turnes, some dayes 1000 men, some dayes 800, without pay, only something to drinke. It 's much worke to bee done by force of hands. Wee have bein about it upwards of three monthes. It hath not cost me little trouble and care. Wee are now dayly expecting the enemy. The greate want of the losse of those menn that dyed the last raynes and the many sentinells wee have with our new workes hath forced me to entertaine in our fower companies tenn menn in eache company, beeing in all forty, Portuguezes, white menn of Europe. They have the same pay our owne menn hath. I would entertaine more, but our mony will not hold out to pay them.

Cooke trusts that next September he will receive supplies of men, money, ordnance, and ammunition. He has been obliged to have some match made on the island, but it is bad and dear. Fearing lest the *Chestnut* should be burnt in the event of a Dutch attack, he has hauled her ashore under the guns, taken out her ordnance and stores, and enrolled her crew in the garrison. This will save 600*l.* a year. 'John Stevens, commander, stomacks it much, and hath a turbulent and mutinous spiritt about it, that maters not at all. Ile doe my duty.' They much need a supply of medicines; also a chaplain. Finally, Cooke, disillusioned and no longer ambitious of being confirmed as Governor, begs that it may be represented to the King

How the ayre of this country doeth not agree with mee, having bein very sick of a flux, and am desirous to end my old age in my owne country; therefor most humbly desire his leave to goe home by the next shipps. I hope hee will send a Governour out befor this cann come to your hands; but in case hee should not, then to minde him heerein.

In a postscript he adds that, on hearing from the Viceroy of the probability of a Dutch assault upon Bombay, he wrote to that functionary, soliciting help in men and stores; but to his four letters on the subject no answer has been vouchsafed. Cooke thinks the King should know of this attitude on the part of the Viceroy. He continues:

The greate house, with three small ones and the ground that is now in His Majestys possession fortified, appertaines unto the widdow of Dom Roderigo de Montsanto, deceased, Donna Ignes de

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Miranda, who as yett will not agree to take what monys all was valued in unto hir at the death of hir said husband, which is neere 350*l.* It must bee paid. I cann assure the houses only were never built for 4,000*l.* The Arabs [1] hath don much hurt to the houses, espetially the greate one, which will cost much to repaire. There is one thing of much importance that I shall desire you please to advise His Majesty thereof, that is, in case hee please to bee absolute owner of all this bay, port, and rivers that the Portugalls hath that runns out into this bay, ther must of necessity bee a fort made, with tenn or twelve good gunns and one hundered English men constantly to bee there, to examine all vessells that goeth in or out, it beeing much out of command of our gunns from this fort. It's a small island that lyeth at the botome of this bay, cald by the Portuguezes Ilha das Patecas [2] by Trumba. There is no inhabitants on it, but [it] belongeth to a subject of His Majesty on this island. My Lord of Marlebourgh cann give Your Lordship a large relation of it and how necessary it will bee to bee don; except which wee cann never expect any greate trade from the maine, the Portuguezes demaunding custumes allready of any thing that cometh hither, and maketh theyr owne rates; and [it] can noe wayes bee remedied, except the said fort bee there to keepe them under.

It was doubtless by the same conveyance that Gary dispatched a letter on his own account to Lord Arlington, dated 16 December,[3] in which he did not hide his feelings towards Cooke. He said that the political outlook had been rendered somewhat more favourable by Jai Singh's conquest of the districts on the neighbouring mainland, 'whereby all that country, which before was hardly to bee travelled in, is now become free and peaceable; though this island, to this present, hath not received any bennefitt thereby'. This might be partly due to the rumours of an impending attack by the Dutch; yet, had Cooke taken Gary's advice and sent some one to negotiate with Jai Singh

About a settlement of a trade and commerce with that country, doubtlesse hee had so farr prevailed with his master the King of Hyndostan that by this time a new port had bein errected on the other side in sight of us, and merchants had also brought downe commoditties to have bein shipt off from hince, to bee transported for Persia, Bassora, Mocha, etc. other parts in the South Seaes,

[1] See the previous volume, p. 132.

[2] Water-melon Island, afterwards termed Butcher's Island. 'Trumba' is Trombay.

[3] No. 140 in the same volume. For copies see ff. 48 and 50 in vol. x

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there beeing in the country adjacent of Balagat [1] severall sorts of commoditties procurable, very proper for the prementioned places [and] marts in greate quantitys. It hath bein knowne, befor the Portuguezes prosperity begun to decline, that there hath very neere 20 greate vessells beeine laden at Chaule and departed for Bussora with fine and course Decan goods in one montzoone. But, to deale ingeniously with Your Honour, the greatest obstruction that wee have noe more merchants come to us as yett hath bein selfe interest, which most prodigiously hath predominated heere in those that should entertaine more noble and generous thoughts for the honour of theyr King and nation; which inferiour deportments, I am very comfident, hath bein the greatest reasone that hath dettered many merchants of quallity to come to us; whereby my endeavours have beine made fruitelesse and hopes alltogeather frustrated.

Gary then referred to the trouble at Surat over Khwāja Minaz, who had 'promised to come hither with all the rest of the merchants of his nation'; and he went on to say that

I am of oppinion that, unlesse His Majesty doeth absolutly enorder the Companys Presidency and factorys removeall to this place, and force the trade hither by keepeing some frigats heere in India, a trade will scarse bee settled as it should bee. Were the Companys factors to bee heere, the custumes of théyr commodities imported and exported would helpe much to maintaine this His Majestys garison, for in Suratt the custumes that the English pay unto the King of Hyndostan ammounts unto yearely about 40,000 rupees, which at 2*s.* 3*d.* per rupee is starling mony 4,500*l.*, which is something considerable. All cases of law and processes having bein determined heere by the lawes of Portugall, it will bee very requisit that His Majesty send hither a civillian,[2] with power to administer an oath and to examine as well the sentences and determinations past (at which some seeme discontented), as what lands and rights belonge properly unto the King and Crowne of England; for, as I am given to understand, there hath bein many encroachments made uppon the crowne land, espetially by the Padres Jesuits, who pay not more for the whole cassabey of Maim than 32 sherephins and 2 larees rent per annum (which is but 2*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* at 21*d.* per x[erafin]) for xs. 1806 and 1 laree (or 158*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.*) comforme the accompt of the rents of this island heerewith sent for Your Honours perusall, they useing to discount in their payements to the King of Portugalls receivers xs. 1773 and 2 larees for an ordenado [3] given and allowed them by the said King for the Padres of Agra, which not many yeares since was paid them out of another place, untyll that notice was given into Portugall that they possessed the

[1] Bālāghāt, the country 'above the passes', i. e. the Ahmadnagar and Bījāpur districts.
[2] A person skilled in civil law.
[3] Port. *ordenado*, a salary or stipend.

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better moitie of this island; so that in all right and justice they ought to bring it into our Kings treasury heere. I am assurredly emfourmed likewise that there is much land which divers of this island posseseth without any true title, which formerly belonged to the Gentills temples and Mahometans mesquits, which in right belongs unto His Majesty. Bernardin de Tavora of Mazagans pattent was strictly examined to know whither hee had any true title for his fishing in the bay; but there appearing non, possession thereof was taken for His Majesty, vizt. on Munday the 14th of Agust, 1665, by order of Mr. Humphrey Cooke, the Lieutenant Governour, given unto Serjant Thomas Price, who, with one drum [i. e. drummer] and twelve private sentinells and tabellion [Port. *tabellião*, a notary], published the said order in the aforesaid towne of Mazagaon, requireing the fishermen to bring in the rents they used to pay unto the prementioned Tavora unto one Vitelgee, appointed to receive the said rents, which amounts unto about xs. 6,500 or 568*l*. 15*s*. per annum. Yett, notwithstanding these solemnitys beeing performed in takeing possession thereof, and that the said Tavora could never make appeare any just title for it (as Mr. Cooke comfessed), the said fishing on the 6th of September followeing (beeing Wedensday) 1665 was restored unto him by an order given him for the same by the said Mr. Cooke, and the prementioned serjant, drum, etc. sentinells cald back from thince againe unto the garison. I understand that Bernardin de Tavora, beeing very dubious what may succeede unto him futurely, hath not only written unto some freinds in England but likewise sent one Padre Antonio Belen, a Franciscan fryer, thether to sollicit this affayre in his behalfe, that yf possible the said fishing may bee comfirmed unto him; which I thought very requisit thus more particollarly to advise Your Honour with. The excise uppon arrack and other strong liquors (which may ammount to about at present, in this places minority, 400*l*. per annum) Mr. Cooke appropriats unto himselfe, and enorders [h]is servant Elias Hyll to receive it, notwithstanding that by Act of Parliament the excise of strong liquors hath bein settled uppon the Kings Majesty. Besides which he drawes from the Kings treasure 56*l*. every moneth, assuming the title and dignity of Governour unto himselfe; which hath very much exhausted it, and, Sir George Oxinden having denyed to lend mony lately and noe supplyes come from England this yeare, noe considerable summe remaynes wherewith to levie soldjers for to deffend and maintaine this place, now that it is indiferently well fortifyied.

The work of fortification was next described, and the number of the garrison was stated to be about 120. No provisions had been laid in against a siege, and Cooke's appeals to the Viceroy at Goa for assistance remained unnoticed. In truth, said Gary, the Viceroy

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was 'a most capitall enemy to our nation in generall', and it was at his instigation that the Captain-General of the North sent Cooke a protest against the seizure of Māhīm; but this protest was 'so smartly answered' that nothing more had been heard on the subject. Gary had asked Anthony Smith at Surat to procure 20,000 rupees for the King's service and had received an encouraging reply, copy of which he enclosed (see no. 141 in the same volume).

The 'accompt of the rents of this island' which Gary enclosed has got separated from his letter, but it will be found at f. 255 of vol. x of the same series. The only date it bears is 16 December, and it has been wrongly classified among the 1667 papers. It is a document of the first importance, for hitherto the earliest return available of the Bombay revenues has been that sent home by Gary in 1667. It is written in Portuguese [1] and signed by Gary; and it gives the following particulars of the income derived from the island by the Portuguese just prior to the transfer.

	Zer.	*lāris.*	*reis.*
Rent of the *kasaba* of Bombay	1,953	1	40
Revenue from the testing of coco-nuts (called *parquauna*) [2]	9	1	35
'*Suretor*' [3]	2	2	16
Rent of the *aldea* [4] of Parel	441	2	72
'Vala' [Vadāla?]	23	0	0
'*Aldea* Verulim' [Warli?]	81	2	36
Sion	36	1	36
Mazagaon	266	1	40
Rent of the Māhīm customs	272	2	16
Rent of the *kasaba* of Māhīm	1,806	1	0
Rent of the tobacco monopoly	4,800	0	0
Revenue from taxes [*dreitos*] after deducting the costs of the officials	4,000	0	0
	13,694	1	51
Deduct the allowance for the Agra Padres out of the payment for Māhīm	1,773	2	0
	11,920	2	51 [5]

[1] My thanks are due to Miss De Alberti, Mr. M. Longworth Dames, and Mr. S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O., for assistance in translating the document.

[2] See p. 73.

[3] As Mr. Edwardes suggests, this appears to be a corruption of Marāthi *sura-tor*, meaning 'knife-tax', i. e. the *coito* of pp. 49, 66. It would only be received in the case of ground directly belonging to the state; hence the low figure.

[4] Village or hamlet.

[5] Gary made a mistake of 10 zerafins in this subtraction, thus throwing out as well his conversion into sterling. His figures have been corrected above.

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This at 21*d.* per zerafin gives 1,043*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* as the actual revenue, to which should be added the 155*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* kept back; total, 1,198*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, as against Gary's figure of 1,197*l.* 9*s.*

The charges made against Cooke in the foregoing letter are more explicitly formulated in a document bearing the same date and doubtless forwarded at the same time.[1] This is in Gary's hand and is signed by him, Stevens, and Ball; and they all declare their willingness to prove their statements on oath, whenever power is sent out from England to examine witnesses. The charges, eighteen in number, are as follows. (1) At Anjidiv Cooke many a time made false entries in the muster rolls of six or seven men more than were actually serving. (2) He charged 30*l.* more than he spent for his expenses between Goa and Bombay. (3) Finding himself described in Gary's muster roll as Lieutenant-Governor, he insisted on this being altered to Governor, in order that he might receive pay accordingly at 56*l.* per mensem.[2] (4) Both at Anjidiv and at Bombay he has appropriated to himself the levy of 4*l.* on each butt of arrack expended, though such a duty clearly belongs to the King. From this source he has received, it is estimated, about 480*l.*

5. That, out of a pretence that the privilidge of permitting the country people to keepe taverns belongs to him, hee not only hath graunted them his lisence to sell arrack etc. other liquor for a summe of about 400 sherefins or 40*l.* starling per annum, but hath likewise permitted them to bring in theyr said liquors without paying any excise or custume unto the King, giving it them under his owne firme. 6. That for the luker of 200 sherefins which hee tooke from Luis de Souza of Bandora, Farmer of the Parqauna,[3] which would bee worth about x[erafin]s 400 per annum unto the King, hee lett him continue with it (after hee had taken the abovesaid bribe), receiving only for His Majesty but xs. 9. 1. 35 res per annum. 7. That notwithstanding that Mr. Henry Gary and Mr. Richard Ball had rented the stanck[4] of tobacco at xs. 4800 per annum, neverthelesse hee went back from his word and would not lett them have it or continue with it, unlesse they gave him xs. 1000 more, which

[1] P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 138. No. 139 is another copy (signed).

[2] At 2*l.* per day. The month was reckoned at 28 days.

[3] See p. 72. As suggested by Mr. Edwardes, this appears to be a corruption of the Marāthi *pārkhane*, which means to examine or test. If so, the term probably refers to the annual inspection of coco-nut palms to determine the revenue to be paid thereon.

[4] Port. *estanque*, an authorized monopoly.

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they were forced to doe, having disbursed a considerable summe of mony in furnishing theyr warehouse with tobacco etc. other disbursments, all which would have bein utterly lost unto them in case they had not complyed with his avaritious desires by paying him the said xs. 1000, which he appropriats unto himselfe. 8. That hee made a most shamefull contract with Padre Antonio Barboza, Superior of Bandora, for xs. 2000 to remayne, with 1773 xs. and 2 larees per annum which the King of Portugall had allowed them for theyr ordinado of the Padres of Agra, also with all the lands they had encroached uppon of the Kings uppon this island, they paying only unto His Majesty but xs. 32 and 2 larees per annum at present, the rent of the cassabey of Maim beeing in all xs. 1806 and 1 laree. 9. That hee appropriats all penalties, which are due by right unto the King, unto himselfe, notwithstanding an order that was published under his owne firme wherein hee declares them for His Majesty.

The tenth charge is that, after publicly confiscating Tavora's fishing rights on the score of illegality, Cooke restored them to him for a bribe of 3,000 *zerafins*.

11. That through his most insatiable avarice hee detered many merchants of quallity from coming to live uppon this island; which made Mr. Gary once tell him that, yf hee should take any thing from any uppon accompt of permission to come, hee would incurr His Majestys displeasure thereby. But hee answered that hee would hazard that and twas noe matter. 12. That hee hath taken many bribes from severall people uppon the passing of sentences, to considerable summes of money, most uncharitably and unchristianlike, namely from one Christovar de Azavedo hee tooke rupees 300, and from divers others, as John Anthunes, his Ovidor,[1] better knowes than any one else uppon this island. 13. That hee appropriats to himselfe all that is received uppon accompt of anchorage, which of right belongs unto the Lord Hygh Admirall of England. 14. That hee hath, much to the disatisfaction of the country people, made choice of and appointed menn of the Portuguez nation for officers of the island, of whom they very much complaine for theyr oppression, under whose burdaine they groane and lye. 15. That all suites and differences among the people of this island hee hath determined, not according to the English, butt Portugueze lawes.

The next charge relates to Cooke's remissness in not sending an ambassador to Jai Singh, 'when hee was but five dayes journy

[1] Port. *ouvidor*, a magistrate or overseer; in this case possibly the 'Justice of Peace' mentioned by Cooke on p. 45.

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off', to treat concerning the opening up of trade between Bombay and the opposite mainland (as detailed in the foregoing letter).

17. That Mr. Henry Gary did severall times speake unto him to buy Francisco Coutinhos house and hortchiard [orchard] for the King, to make the custume house there, because it lyeth in the most properest place for that purpose and had bein allwayes in former times the mandowin or custume house. But hee answered him that hee would not disburse a farthing in that nature for the King; though most certaine it is that hee had mony enough to satisfy so small a summe as would have paid for it. However, it appeares hee never entended to promote the Kings interest any manner of way, for hee bought the said house himselfe to make merchandize of. 18. That (in conclusion) hee hath wholy neglected the advancing His Majestys interest, which hee never sought to promote, his cheiffest studie beeing how to looke after nothing else but his owne private interest.

With this interesting glimpse into the inner workings of Cooke's administration we leave the subject for a time.

THE MALABAR COAST, 1665

We now continue the chronicle of events upon the Malabar Coast, where there were at this time three English factories, viz. at Kārwār (Robert Master, Philip Giffard, and Caesar Chamberlain), at Porakād (John Harrington and Alexander Grigby), and at Calicut (Charles Smeaton and Robert Barbor).

From Kārwār the three factors sent on 6 January a budget of news to Surat. After answering two letters from that place and complaining of the badness of the coral sent to them for sale (which 'is not worth so much a maund as it is invoiced at a pound'), they stated that Vālji (the broker dispatched from Surat to buy pepper) had departed for Bhatkal fifteen days before. They then gave an account of the sack of Hubli by the Marāthas.

He [i. e. Sivāji] sent about 300 horse, robb'd the town, and carried away some prisoners; so that Hubely is but litle better then spoiled.... It's generally reported that some of the abovesaid 300 horse were Rustum Jeamahs [Rustam Zamān's], and its beleived they will agree together to turne the King out and set up another. So that wee beleive it would be very necessary for our masters

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affaires that one of us went up with some present, to secure as well what the Company hath here, as allso to recover Mahomet Caune's[1] debt, which can never be effected otherwayes. If Your Worship approve of this, then pray write to what value the present shall amount to. . . . Thanks be to God, at Sevagys arrivall at Hubely the Company had nothing there, only 1185 pagodas in ready mony, 500 of which wee have received and the rest wee hope there is no reason to misdoubt, the sheroffe having secured himselfe; but our broker hath lost severall things to a good value. . . . [*PS.*] Since the writing hereof, wee received a letter from Velgy [Vālji] from Batticola [Bhatkal], who writes us . . . that Ally Rajah[2] at Cannanore and the Dutch are at variance; and wee heare he hath killed above 200 of their men, and its thought he may turne them out. . . .

A short note from the same factors on 23 January said that the country was still so disturbed that they could not sell any goods. They had had an offer for their copper, but were waiting to get a better price. Five days later they wrote again, giving the following intelligence:

The newes in these parts is that Rajah Jessun [Jai Singh] is come to Brampore [Burhānpur] with 30,000 horse, 3,000 of which were permitted to attend him into said citty. They say he comes to demand 7,000,000 pagodas as a tribute due from the King [of Bījāpur]. What answer the King will give him none knowes as yet, he staying untill Ballul Caune [Bahlol Khān] arrive and Sevagys brother,[3] Siud Elasse[4] being there allready. Its reported three armys are to goe against the Mogull, the one under Sevagy, the other under Rustum Jeamah, and the third under Cows Caune [Khawās Khān]; but wee feare the truth thereof, Sevagy being expected down to Gocurne,[5] where if he comes, though its thought he will not rob any of Rustum Jeamahs countrey, yet wee will not trust him, but will secure what possible wee can. There wants not above eight dayes more to that feast; so that, if he comes not till then, wee shall be in great hopes he will not necessit[6] us this yeare.

[1] Mahmūd Khān, the late Governor of Kārwār.

[2] See a note at p. 350 of the last volume.

[3] Vyankoji, half-brother of Sivāji.

[4] Sayyid Iliyas Sharza Khān.

[5] Gokarn, in North Kanara, 22 miles south of Kārwār. It is famous for its Mahābaleshwar temple. The festival referred to takes place annually on 5 February. In 1676 Fryer visited Gokarn and witnessed the festivities.

[6] An obsolete form of 'necessitate', in the sense of 'to reduce a person to want or necessity'.

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. . . [*PS.*] Gokurne is a place where is yearely a great feast held by all Hendues, and lies between Ancola and Mergee.[1]

To these three letters the President and Council replied on 27 March. They advised the factors, seeing that 'now the times are soe full of perill', to realize their goods as far as possible, since money could be more easily transported should it be necessary for them to 'shift for yourselves'. No news had yet been received of a declaration of war against Holland. Sivāji, it was feared, had 'some designe to the southward neare you'; so the factors must be on their guard.

Rajah Jessing, with many more umbrahs [nobles: *umara*], are on their way with a greate army; but what the issue will be time must produce. Rustum Jemah begins to tast the sweetnesse of plunder, that in a shorte time he will gett an habitt of it. It is to be fear'd there will be as little trusting him as Sevagy, for we have cause to suspect he workes counter. If you have any assurance of recovering the Companies debt, one of you may goe up and present him. As to the valew of what you are to give, you are better able to judge then we can at this distance, and therefore shall leave it to you, wishing you to use all necessary frugality, as well in this as all other your expences. The pepper we received from you this yeare came well condition'd and clean, in soe much that there was noe losse on it; and yet we find it cost with charges $5\frac{1}{6}d.$ per lb. English, which is most excessive deare, a price never knowne in India before. That bought at Batticolla will not cost above $3\frac{1}{2}d.$, a vast difference of price in soe small a distance of place.

As to the coral, a mistake had been made in invoicing it, and the shillings should be taken as pence; at the resulting rates there should be no difficulty in disposing of it. The copper should be sold 'as the marketts rule'; Taylor had declared that he had a list from the factors giving the price as '80 pagodas per candy,[2] which is 25 rupees per maund Surratt, which is 40 per cent. more then it will yeild here'.

More than a month before this letter was dispatched, the expected blow had fallen. Writing on 14 March, Master and his two companions gave the President and Council the following account:

About the begining of February Sevagy himselfe in person set

[1] Ankola is 15, and Mīrjān 28, miles south of Kārwār.

[2] The candy was 20 Kārwār maunds, of about 26 lb. each. The calculation seems incorrect on these lines.

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forth out of Mawlunda,[1] with a fleet of 85 frigots and three great shipps; and so sayling by Goa, without any impediment from the Vice Roy of Goa, arrived at Basselore,[2] plundred it, and so returned to Gocurne. . . . There having washed his body according to the ceremony of that place, he set forth and came to Ancola with 4,000 foot, having sent all his fleet, saving 12 frigots which he detained for transportation of his army over the rivers he was to passe between that place and his own countrey. From thence the 22th February he came to Carwarre; but, thanks be to God, he was not so speedy in his designe but wee had notice by our spies wee kept out for that purpose; and though the newes came not time enough to escape up in the countrey yet [we were able?] to clap all the Companies ready mony etc. portable commodities aboard a shipp, belonging to the Hummum [Imām] of Muscat, lying here in the river, of about 100 tunns, well manned [and commanded?] by Emanuell Donnavado, who promis'd us that, as long as his shipp could possibly hold out, or God blessed him with life, no perswasion or attempts whatsoever should diswade him from his former resolution to keep his shipp. Besides, he promised us, if wee saw occasion, to saile out and land us at what port wee desired, Sevegee's vessells being (all but 12) pass'd by the day before. These things considered, wee resolved to live or die with our masters estate aboard of said vessell rather then yeild it up to the said tyrant, knowing no other way so probable as this whereby wee might have any likelihood of saving our selves etc. The same night wee got on board, arrived one Shere Caune,[3] lieutenant generall to Ballull Caune, not knowing any thing of Sevagees approach; but he sent to us to desire us to use what meanes possible to secure the river, hearing of Sevagys approach. The cause of his comming was to freight a shipp of Rustum Jeamahs to carry Bullul Caunes mother to Mocha and to conduct the lading of the said shipp down to this port. He fortified himselfe, with the goods he brought down, as well as the shortnesse of the time would permit. He had not with him above 200 horse and 300 foot; but wee beleive his name might well supply the place of his forces wanting of the number of Sevagees, he being a man cried up much in this countrey. That night of his arrivall he dispatched a man to Sevagy to certifie him of his arrivall and to desire him not to passe through that towne, as he heard he intended; for if he did, he must use what meanes he could to stop his passage, having a great many goods of his masters on the bunder [landing-place: *bandar*], for security of which he could not admit of so potent an enemy so neare his quarters. At length, upon severall messages passing between them, Sevagy,

[1] Mālvan (Mahalavana), a rocky inlet 70 miles south of Ratnāgiri and about 16 miles north-west of Vengurla. [2] Basrūr, about 25 miles south of Bhatkal.

[3] Sher Khān, son of the late Khānkhānān, Ikhlās Khān.

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unwilling to distast him, knowing his power with his master and the strength of Bullul Caune in this kingdome, condiscended to goe a litle out of his way, and so came and incamped with his army at the rivers mouth; whereas before he intended to passe through the towne. At his arrivall there he sent an embassadour to Shere Caune, telling him of his arrivall and that he heard that the Mascat shipp, commanded by Emanuell, aboard of which were the English, and another shipp belonging to Cong [Kung, in Persia], had both prepared to resist him; therefore he desired he would either deliver us up or, retiring himselfe, permit him to revenge himselfe of us, whom he stiled his inveterate enemies. This newes Shere Caune sent us on board, desiring to know our finall answer; the contents whereof was that wee had nothing on board but powder and bullets, which, if he [Sivāji] thought they would serve him instead of gold, he might come and fetch them. This our answer, being sent to Sevagy, did so exaspirate him that he said he would have us before he parted; which the Governour of the town hearing, they perswaded all the merchants to agree to send him a present, least he should recall his fleet, which lay on this side Salset. And at length wee concluded it our best way to promise our share, then runne the hazzard of the Companies estate in Carwarre, being about 8,000 pagodas. This businesse will stand the Company in neare 112*l.*, but [wee] hope to get some of it abated. With this Sevagy departed the 23th February, very unwillingly, saying that Shere Caune had spoil'd his hunting at his Hule,[1] which is a time he generally attempts some such designe. By our letters from Hubely wee are advised that there is great feare of Sevagy; so that wee being safe neither here nor there, having taken a passe of Shere Caune, who is Governour in cheife at Bunckapore,[2] so wee intend thither suddenly, from whence wee shall advise further. Wee goe thither for three respects: one, because this Shere Caune is cried up all over the countrey for a man of his word; 2ly, wee know him to be a good paymaster; 3ly, Bunckapore is a strong place and the owner thereof, Bullul Caune, one of the potentest men in the kingdome. Sevagy is now at Bingur,[3] a place within 25 miles of this place; but it's thought he may goe against the Mogull, who approaches dayly nearer and nearer to Vizapore [Bījāpur], so that the King of said citty is in great feare of him. What the event hereof will be, a small time will certainly produce. Since writing hereof, wee received another letter from Hubely, wherein our brokers servant writes the copper is returned; they melting down two maund, which held out 1½, the rest iron. Rustum

[1] The Hooly (*holi*) festival.

[2] Bankāpur, about 40 miles south-south-east of Dhārwār.

[3] Bhimgad, on a rock about 16 miles south-west of Khānāpur.

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Jeamah's shipp that Shere Caune came down to freight for Mocha, to carry Bullul Caunes mother, is since (she not going) freighted by the same person to Muscat, whether she is now ready to set saile.

To this letter the Surat Council replied on 23 May, approving the steps taken by the factors and bidding them sell the copper for what it would fetch.

All danger of fresh raids by Sivāji was soon removed by the great campaign in which the Mogul army at last reduced him to submission. Early in March Rāja Jai Singh took over command of these forces and at once commenced his preparations for the arduous task of crushing the wily Marātha chieftain. His move towards Bījāpur, alluded to above, was intended to overawe that monarch and prevent him from lending any aid to Sivāji; and at the end of March his real purpose was disclosed by his laying siege to Purandhar, one of the most important of the Marātha strongholds, on a hill twenty miles south-east of Poona. The siege was steadily pressed, and at the same time the neighbouring country was raided regularly by flying columns of Mogul troops. At last, early in June, Sivāji, finding further resistance hopeless, came to terms. In a personal interview with Jai Singh he agreed to yield up to the Moguls twenty-three of his forts, with the districts round them, giving an annual revenue of four lakhs of pagodas; and in return he was allowed to keep the remaining twelve, yielding one lakh, on condition that he would perform military service in the Deccan when called upon. By a supplementary agreement he undertook to co-operate in the intended campaign against Bījāpur, and to pay a large sum to the Emperor in return for a share of the conquered territory. Thus for a time the Marātha chieftain lost his independence and became a vassal of Aurangzeb.

Of these events some account has already been given in the extracts quoted on pp. 36, 52; and they are further alluded to in a letter from the Kārwār factors to Surat, dated 25 August. After imparting some commercial news as to the price of pepper, the sale of their copper, &c., they resumed their narrative of events. In accordance with the permission received from Surat, Master and Giffard had paid a visit to Rustam Zamān.

Rustum Jeamah having given all the lower part of his countrey to one of his sonnes, upon condition that he should maintaine

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a company of horse, which so necessitated his sonne for mony that he used all the meanes possible to raise a round summe to buy horses, with forcing the inhabitants to comply with him and pay him all rents before hand, never leaving solliciting us to lend him 6 or 700 pagodas, which wee dayly denying, wee found our selves subject to be often abused, which though he did not openly father, yet they were winked at by him, to our great trouble and unquietnesse; besides, Mahmud Caune comming downe with an army against Merjee [Mīrjān], which is now in rebellion, all merchants or monyed men began to retire, fearing (as they had a great deale of reason) that he would be borrowing. This wee likewise was afraid of; so resolved to absent, though could not well tell where; for [the ?] Hubely owner was out of favour for some misdemeanour; Bullull Caune lately dead, who was owner of Bunckapore and all the adjacent places thereabouts; Sheer Caune poisoned by the King; Vizapore in dayly feare of the Mogull, besides continuall quarrells one amongst another. These troubles considered, wee resolved up; which, had wee known of a Dutch warre, wee should not have done, though have no reason to feare wee shall in the least be blamed for going up or presenting him with so large a present as, with all charges included, will amount to 310 pagodas. What he hath returned for it wee come now to treat of. In the first place, he hath given us a very good horse, valued to be worth 125 pagodas; in the next place, he hath given us 125 small pagodas [1] out of his customes, in part of what Sevagy robbed from us; in the third place, he hath abated us one fourth of the customes for ever; in the fourth place, he hath sent down such strict order to Mahmud Caune to pay what he owes, though he sells his horses for it, that Mahmud Caune himselfe hath since sent severall times to desire our patience, and not incense his master against him, and he will pay us all he owes. He hath likewise wrote so strict a letter to his sonne, to see that no abuse be offered us, that all the people here which formerly dayly abused us stand in such feare of us that upon all occasions they strive who shall be most ready to forward our businesse. He hath sent a moldar [*amaldār*, an officer] allso downe with us to finish the house; who goes about it roundly, though mony is very scarce with them. Wee must needs likewise say something of his noblenesse in entertaining us. When he heard wee drew nigh Hevery,[2] he sent to meet us some of his cheifest persons about him, very well attended with ellephant and horse, lodged us in his own garden, dayly shewed us some pastime or other, feasted us all the 11 dayes wee were there, to the value of at least 5 pagodas per day, and, after wee had tooke our last leave,

[1] See the previous vol., p. 243.

[2] Hāveri, in Dhārwār district, about 12 miles south-east of Bankāpur.

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sent his Pishwaes [1] sonne through his countrey with us, causing us to be feasted at every town wee came, and giving us a guard of 25 men down. . . . Now must desire Your Worshipp etc. would write him a letter of thanks. He is mighty earnest for 2 great looking glasses, which (if procurable) pray write him about them, he having been very earnest with us to sollicite Your Worshipp etc. in his favour. He is mighty earnest for a buffe coat and sute of armour, cap a pee,[2] which he would willingly pay for; he cares not, so you will but promise him, he sayes, though it come not in 2 or 3 yeares. Any handsome pictures much please him. . . . Bullull Caune being, upon the Kings call, come to Vizapore from his Carnatick warre, within 8 dayes after his arrivall died of a long sicknesse, leaving his sonne and brothers sonne with 9 or 10 thousand horse of their own in Vizapore; which the King being jealous of, used all meanes possible underhand to set them together by the eares; which not taking effect as long as Sheer Caune lived, he being so cunning a person that he kept all right, the King found meanes to have him poisoned. He was the only person that had the repute to be a man of his word. Wee lost a great friend; which wee afterwards found in our journey to Hevery, being forced to travell 4 or 5 dayes journey through his countrey, where he had spoke much in our favour, that wee had much civility showed us at all townes where wee lay, and a guard from town to town to conduct us. Since his death all goes to rack between the two Bullul Caunes, who dayly quarrell, and, were it not that the Mogull was so nigh, would fight it out. The King begins to share stakes with them, having seized on some of their countrey, though durst not be to[o] bold. One of them having killed an ellephant of Sihud Ellasse, the Kings generall, when the King sent to know his reason, was answered that, if he came in such a dru[n]ken condition himselfe, they would use the same way to make him sober; which without doubt did a litle trouble His Majesty.[3] Our old and deare friend Sevagy hath, wee feare, come to some mischance, having retired his quarters as farre as Singapore,[4] 7 gow [5] to the northward of Rajapore; all which Mahmud Eclasse Caune [Mahmūd Ikhlās Khān], Cowes Caunes brother, hath taken from him. That is for certaine, he and Nettage [6] went and met Rajah Jessun and delivered his sonne [7] for a pledge; upon what condition wee know not, but Sevagy is to deliver up

[1] Pers. *peshwa*, 'a leader, a guide'. The term was applied to the chief *minister* of a Marātha state, and in this sense became an historic title.

[2] *Cap à pied*, head to foot. [3] The King's addiction to liquor was notorious.

[4] Shringapur (see the 1661–4 volume, p. 9).

[5] Hind, *gau*, for which see a note on p. 7 of the 1661–4 volume.

[6] It seems doubtful whether Netaji accompanied Sivāji.

[7] Sambhāji, Sivāji's eldest son and successor.

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23 castles. Four are allready delivered. This submission was caused by Rajah Jeswuns going so roundly to work, having so battered Punedar [Purandhar], a very great castle, being about 10 miles round without the walls, that the beseiged could not have held out above 4 or 5 dayes longer. Some say (which wee are apt to beleive) that Rajah Jeswuns hath shewed him a Rashboots [Rājput's] trick, having sent his son and Nettagee to Agra.[1] Some thing is the matter that he parts so peaceably with his countrey. Wee have sent a man to the Rajah's camp at Puna to know the certainety; when he returnes, wee shall write what newes he brings by the next. Rajah Jeswuns threatens Vizapore hard. What he will doe, no body knowes; but this is certaine, the King hath thoughts of running away to Pelgunda,[2] a castle in Carnattick. Merjah is still beseiged, and its thought will suddenly be taken. If it be, wee question not Mahmud Caune's debt. Markets are very dead; so that wee can put of neither lead nor currall. . . . [*PS.*] 29 *August.*—Since writing the prementioned lines, wee heare Rajah Jeswun hath made peace with the King of Vizapore for 900,000 pagodas.[3] If true, then Sevagy will have a hard businesse of it. . . . Your Worshipp etc. may justly wonder that wee have been so long silent. The cheifest cause at first was that the rivers were so raised by the great raines wee have had that they were unpassable; but at last having faire weather, wee intended to send them away the 25th instant, but were hindred by the losse of our cosset [letter-carrier: *kāsid*], who the day before went out with severall of our peons to hunt a great tiger, which had done much mischeife and lurk'd about our house every night. The tiger, being roused by their noise, seized at once on two of our men, one [of] which happened to be that poore cosset, who to day died of his wounds. Wee had 4 or 5 more wounded, but are past danger. They at last brought the tiger home, to the great comfort of all the inhabitants, who for feare of him durst not stirre out of their houses after 7 a clock at night.

This letter reached Surat on 20 September, and on 10 October the President and Council replied. Referring to the high price of pepper, as reported by the Kārwār factors, they said:

Nor doe we expect it will ever be otherwise, now the inland merchants have gott an haunt [i. e. practice] of buying it up; which considred, togeather with the small vent of Europe commodities with you and the lownesse of price they goe off at, makes

[1] This was incorrect.

[2] Manucci's 'Pelconda', i. e. Penukonda, the celebrated fortress in Anantapur District, Madras. It had come into the possession of the Bījāpur monarch about 1652.

[3] This rumour was untrue.

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us conclude that residence will be of little proffitt to our honourable masters, and indeed (to say the truth) not worth keeping, the charge and expence considred.

Satisfaction was expressed at the sale of the copper; but the factors were reproved for their dilatoriness in submitting their accounts. Master's glowing account of his embassy to Rustam Zamān and its results was coldly received.

As for the horse, he will putt the Company to a further charge, if he be not suddainly sould and money made of him. The other immunities we doe not beleive will come to any thing, now that the pepper trade is in a manner lost to us, in reguard of its excessive rates. Soe that the whole stresse and burden of the present lyes on Mahomett Ckaune paying his debt, which, when ever you have it, will be dearly bought. It seems that, notwithstanding the strict order, he desires time for the payment; which we must tell you is very dangerous, for such delays are none other then to gaine time to shuffle of the debt; which we very much fear will be the end of it, especially since all things are soe subject to change in those parts. Wherefore you ought to follow him very close, or bidd farewell to the debt; for in our opinions you will never see one farthing of it. . . [Any other applications for loans must be refused.] If you shall find any affronts putt on you on this accompt, draw off the Companies estate with your selves to some other place, as Goa or otherwise, and desert the factory; for the Company will not be willing to pay soe dear for their friendship to you. For tis certaine, if they find this way take with you, there will be noe end of borrowing. And therefore, if this be the extent of the many kindnesses you pretend to have received, wee tell you they are only shadows and nothing of substance; wherefore we doe not thinke our selves to be oblig'd to him [i. e. Rustam Zamān] or write him any thing, much lesse to passe any promise to him. Wherefore you may order that businesse as you see good; since our intentions are to draw you off from thence, as a place inconsiderable and not worth settling on.

The little demand for coral at Kārwār was contrasted with the eagerness of the Surat merchants for that commodity. The arrival of the *African*, with news of the war with Holland, was next mentioned. The factors were told that they must not expect any shipping that season, and were cautioned to be on their guard against seizure by the Dutch, as had befallen their Porakād colleagues No goods should be provided until further orders were received from home.

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The next letter from Kārwār to Surat, dated 21 September, gave a further budget of news.

Our men from Rajapore and Rajah Jessuns camp being both returned, he from the camp brings us newes that Sevagy's sonne is certainly there, and that Sevagy is preparing to goe visit Orung Zeeb, having delivered up severall of his best castles to the Mogull. His family he hath secured in Raire,[1] a place well known to Mr. Randolph Taylor, to whom desire you to be referr'd. Our man from Rajapore brings newes that Mahmud Ecles Ckaune hath taken Dabull and all the countrey adjacent thereto. The Governour of Rajapore wrote us a letter inviting us thither. He is put in by the King. Wee heare likewise that the Dutch hath desired leave to setle a factory there, and that they have been deni'd, being told that the place was at the English's refusall. The Mogull hath certainly 6,000 horse before Chaul; what their intention is, is not as yet known. The Vizapore King hath made peace with the Mogull, and is sending one Moollamud[2] with his tribute mony to Agra. Mirjah, castle as yet holds out, but wee beleive it will not be long ere it 's reduced to its former obedience. Rustum Jeamah is dayly sent for by his King, but durst not venture. Wee hope by our next . . . to write of the sale of a good quantity of cloth and lead. . . . Now a litle newes from Goa, and then wee shall conclude. Senhor John de Prado is retired into a church, the Vice Roy and he being fallen out. The church hath a guard round about it, least he should escape. Newes from Bombas [Mombasa, in E. Africa] is that Don Lewes de Mendoza Fartado is come as farre as Mosambique towards his Vice Roy-shipp.[3] He is dayly expected at Goa. There is arrived at Goa a Swedish shipp, a pirate of 32 guns. The captain is a Dutchman. Its thought he will sell her, and the Vice Roy is about buying her.

A further letter from Kārwār, dated 27 November, answered the one from Surat of 10 October already noticed. The factors said that they had practically sold all their goods except the lead, which they hoped to dispose of shortly, and the coral, for which there was no demand. They forwarded their accounts for the previous year, and attributed the delay as regards the current accounts to the illness of their broker.

Had wee known of a Dutch warre, wee should never have gone

[1] Rairi or Raigarh, for which see the last volume, p. 86.

[2] Mulla Ahmad was sent from Bījāpur to Jai Singh in September to negotiate a peace. He deserted to the Mogul side and started for Delhi, but died on the way (Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, vol. iv. p. 104).

[3] There seems to have been no foundation for this rumour.

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up to Hukery,[1] especially running them hazzards as wee did in the way. Wee are heartily sorry what wee did therein is not so well thought on as expected. Had not wee gone up, wee had been certainely liable to many abuses here dayly thrown upon us before; whereas now wee are not in the least disturbed by any of them in power here, and should this factory continue, its more then probable that Rustum Jeamah would not be so apt as else he might have been to hearken to any of the Dutches sollicitations against us. And should the King be any wayes inclin'd to favour them, wee have great hopes Rustum Jeamah would secure us, he being much in the King's bookes at present. As for Mahmud Ckaunes debt, wee could not expect he would pay it presently upon our comming down, he beeing then much necessitated for mony to pay his souldiers, to effect which the poore countrey was highly taxed and, had wee not gone up, according to the merchants opinion here, wee had been forced to pay our share. Mirzah castle hath since yeilded to him; so that wee have sent to him about our mony once againe. . . . Wee shall sell the horse, according to order, though suppose Rustum Jeamah will be highly incensed thereat, and wee feare it may breed a great suspition of our going away. Wee could have wished you had rather enordered the sale of the Turky, a very old horse, not worth the victuals he eates, especially now provisions are so deare; for by reason of two armies lying so nigh, many things are risen cent. per cent. . . . If wee find any more affronts put upon us, wee shall, according to order, draw of to Goa. If wee can live quiet, wee shall expect [i. e. await] further directions. Our house is allmost finished. It will stand them in about 500 pagodas Tipke.[2] Pray, by your next, advise us whether wee shall goe and live therein or no. . . . Notwithstanding our sending a man to Rajah Jessuns camp, wee cannot certainly informe our selves what is become of Sevagy. Met the Mogull[3] he hath certainely, and delivered up to him severall castles, as allso his sonne for a pledge. This Kings generall, Mahmud Ecles, lies at Coddall[4] with his army, having lost all the countrey he had retaken back againe to Sevagy, with the lives of 2,000 men besides, amongst whom are severall persons of great note. Serjah Ckaune[5] is comming down to assist Mahmud Eclesse Ckaune. What will then be done, wee must leave to time to discover. Rustum Jeamah is at Viziapore, much in favour; but severall noblemen of good

[1] Hukeri (see the map in the 1655–60 volume). But it seems doubtful whether Hāveri is not intended (see p. 81).

[2] See the 1655–60 volume, p. 243.

[3] Here and in some other passages this term is used for the Great Mogul's representative, i. e. Jai Singh.

[4] Kudāl (see the last volume, p. 237).

[5] Sharza Khān (see note on p. 76).

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quality are runne away to the Mogull. The King hath sent away all his wives and women to other castles, dayly expecting the Mogulls approach. This King demands all his noblemens wives for security, imprisoning all them that refuses to condiscend thereto. There is one Dillar Ckaune,[1] a man of great force and repute, in Rajah Jessuns camp, that will not by any meanes listen to any overtures for peace, telling said Rajah (who is thought inclinable to an accomodation) that he hath made an inviolable oath to drink of Viziapore water before he depart, and he will goe and fetch it. Severall souldiers that lie in garrison hereabouts, belonging to Sevagy, doe leave their castles and goe and plunder up and down severall small townes. They are not above 200 in number; so wee not much feare them, not questioning but wee can resist them well enough till wee can have help, if they should venture hither. Mortasabeeg,[2] though he hath lost his castle, is out with 200 men likewise; so that wee are forced to keep about 40 peons, least by any sudden surprisall wee should hazzard all, rather then expend a small part. The reason of Mr. Masters his going to Goa wee desire you to be referr'd to his own letters for.

A letter from Giffard and Chamberlain to Surat, dated 1 January, 1666, conveyed the sad news of the death of Master.

He sickned the 16th December of a feavour; in three dayes lost his speech and the use of his lower parts, being not able to turne himselfe, either one way or other, without help; and thus in this sad condition he continued till Christmas Day and then departed this life about 11 of the clock in the morning, sensible to the last houre, but could never be perswad'd to think he was so ill, nor by any meanes to make a will, though often sollicited thereunto; answering that it was not our custome so to doe.

An inventory of his estate was promised, but it was hinted that his affairs were much involved and that the balance would probably be found to be on the wrong side. Among his effects were a horse, two elks, a speekled deer, and an antelope, 'all which cost him 8 pagodas a month in provisions'; and orders were requested as to the disposal of these. Master had recently spent a month and a half at Goa, as foreshadowed in the previous letter. No reason was assigned for this journey, but as it was stated that Humphrey Cooke would refund Master's charges, we may presume that it concerned some negotiations with the Viceroy about the defence of

[1] Diler Khān. He had played a leading part in the siege of Purandhar.
[2] Murtaza Beg was apparently the late governor of Mīrjān.

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Bombay against the Dutch. After giving some news from Madras the factors reported a rumour that Sivāji had been seized by Rāja Jai Singh. This story they were inclined to believe, if only for the fact that

Notwithstanding Mahmud Ecles Caune hath left Cooddall above this month, yet Rougy Pundit [1] hath layen at Rajapore with 2,000 men and done nothing all that while. He hath likewise wrote to the Governour of Cooddall for a coule [pass : *kaul*], who hath but 500 horse and 1000 foot. The King of Viziapore is resolved to hold out as long as he can against Rajah Jessun, if they cannot come to an agreement; having to that end broke down all the townes that are within 4 or 5 miles of Viziapore and poysoned all the waters thereabouts; which hath put all the merchants there in such feare that there is hardly one of note left in Viziapore, and all the nobles have sent away their families to some other strong holds; though yet, notwithstanding all this, there is great hopes of a peace. . . . PS. Last night past by our house 7 seamen Moores, that are all that are left of 43 that are come from Surat in a shipp belonging to Banjee Revedas [Bānji Revedās], bound for Basselore. She hath been absent from Surat a great while, having been repaired at Choule, from whence she was now comming down. The Mallabarres fought her 3 dayes, and then she blew up of her selfe, lost all but 7 men, which are burnt or drowned.

The same topics are dealt with in a private letter from Giffard to Randolph Taylor of 29 December, 1665. He laments the death of Master and offers to purchase certain of his effects, including ' his physick stones, as feavour stones and flux stones '. He gives a circumstantial story of the way in which Jai Singh had, according to report, entrapped Sivāji; but this is not worth repeating, as the incident never really occurred. The letter gives plain evidence that both Giffard and Taylor were concerned in illicit trade, and the former directs the latter,

When you write of any such thing againe, write for every letter of word the next letter that stands in the XX row [2] after it,

besides using code words for ' pepper ' and ' lead '.

The Surat letter to the Company of 1 January, 1666, said that, in obedience to the orders lately received, the factory at Kārwār would be continued for the present, though in the opinion of the

[1] Raoji Pandit, one of Sivāji's officers.

[2] ' Christcross-row ', i. e. the alphabet, at the beginning of which a cross was placed.

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President and Council it was not worth maintaining, for the reasons given in the correspondence with the factors there.

At Kārwār the Company's servants formed a happy family. It was otherwise at Porakād (Porca, 10 miles south of Alleppey). There the two factors had nothing to do, either in buying or selling, their sole business being to maintain a footing in the district, in order to foil the Dutch schemes for monopolizing the pepper trade; and they seem to have filled up the time by quarrelling violently. A letter from Grigby to Surat, dated 21 February,[1] complained that Harrington had twice brutally assaulted him, besides attacking a Mr. Wade[2] (apparently not in the Company's service), who was visiting the factory. One of these quarrels had been caused by Harrington shooting Grigby's cat, on the plea that she had killed two of his pigeons. Grigby had long been so ill that 'congee (*kanji*), rice and water boiled together', had been his 'cheifest lickour', and he complained that 'this our factory is but as a choutry,[3] not for a sick man to winter in, being within a stones cast of the sea'. He intended, therefore, to go in April to Old Kāyal and spend the rainy season there, returning in August, when he hoped to find orders awaiting him to repair to Surat. Harrington, he declared, was too lazy to write to Surat or to post his accounts, and 'he sleeps not one night in three monthes in the factory'.

This letter had not reached its destination when, on 27 March, the President and Council addressed the Porakād factors. In this they acknowledged receipt of a letter of 9 November, 1664, and mentioned that the earlier one of 14 August had not come to hand.[4] This was regretted, especially as the letter enclosed a copy of the protest made by the factors against the Dutch in the preceding January. Though the factors had spoken slightingly of such protests as mere 'paper pelletts', yet Oxenden and his colleagues regarded them as valuable materials for the claims that were being made against the Dutch at home. The factory must still be maintained, since the Company had so ordered. Should the factors

[1] Printed in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 51, p. 109.

[2] Henry Wade and William Harrison witnessed the delivery of a protest to the Dutch at Porakād in January, 1664.

[3] A choultry (open shed, or *loggia*).

[4] For these letters see pp. 354, 357 of the last volume.

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be forced to leave, they must draw up a protest against the Dutch, 'charging them with a greate summe annually . . . expressing how that King had freely given his port, with the trade of all his dominions, to our Company'.

To this letter, received at the end of May, Grigby replied on 5 June. His intention of repairing to Old Kāyal had been unexpectedly frustrated by an event which made it necessary for Harrington to go to Tuticorin.

About the latter end of Aprill Mr. Walter Travers departed this life. The natives, immediately after his death, entered the factory, surveyed all things in the house, took a list thereof, sealing up the doores, carrying what gold and silver they found along with them, apprehending all the servants belonging to the factory. This advice was sent us by one of ditto servants; whereuppon Mr. Harrington repaired thither, to keep possession of the Companies factory and to use all meanes to preserve what is there from being purloin'd by the natives or others. And since Mr. Harrington's departure came hither a letter from the person that supplies the place of a broker there, advising of the death of Mr. Travers, and further how that he, as allso the Pulla [1] (the person that governes those parts for the Naique) did immediately after ditto Travers decease dispeed advices unto our friends at Madrassapatam; therefore hope they meane honestly and that Mr. Harrington will find all things in a faire condition; who intends to reside there untill releife comes from Madrassapatam. . . .

Grigby himself was prepared to hold on, despite the intrigues of the Dutch to secure his ejection.

They have now betwixt Cochin and Coulam [Quilon] alongst the sea side six watch houses with souldiers, to prevent the importing opium and exporting pepper. In January last there came from Callicut or thereabouts certaine Moores in small vessells, landing three leagues to the southward of this factory, but out of this kings dominions, to procure pepper. The Hollander, having notice thereof, being within a league of that place, sent five souldiers to impeed them. To be short, the Dutch souldiers shot amongst them; whereupon the Moores surrounded the Dutchmen, leaving them dead upon the place, naked; [and] fled into their boates, departing. Rickloffe van Goens, being then in Cochin, about 40 dayes after, accompanied with the King of Cranganore and the King of Cochin, with many other black princes and their Naires, comes hither, demanding assistance of this king, who durst not deny his great-

[1] See the preceding volume, p. 360.

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nesse, but presently furnished him with 500 men in 25 frigots, to goe by river; and this without a penny to defray charges. With this black army, 600 Hollanders, and 300 topasies [1] that he brought from Cochin, [he] enters into the distressed negro's countrey (whom none, if they would, durst succour), cutting and burning, there being none to withstand him; so that the distressed negro king was forced the next day to goe and humble himselfe before the emperour in conceit, who confiscated all the palmers [coconut trees] belonging to the aforesaid king to the Companies use, to say, those that were on the sea side; in the middle of which their conquest they have placed another watch house. Besides there were delivered five innocents, as sacrifices for the five souldiers; allso ellephants to the King of Cochin. Thus His Lordshipp, having made peace upon his own tearmes, returned againe to Cochin; and about the end of March, having in his way visited all the Mallabar kings, who all attending his greatnesse on the sea side, set saile from Coulam directly for Columbo, where wee leave him.[2] They are still fortifying Cochin with all might and maine, having for that purpose brought 500 coolees from Vingurla. Allso, about one month since, they began to inclose Coulam with a wall of ten paces thick. By the foregoing relation Your Worshipp etc. may perceive in what a slavery these Mallabars are in, not daring to help one another; therefore how can it be expected that this king should withstand their greatnesse? Its impossible, except he had some Europeans to help him; whose hopes are only in us.

While this was being written, a letter (dated 23 May) was on its way from Surat to Porakād, giving the news that war had certainly broken out between England and Holland. Grigby, however, was to learn the intelligence in a more dramatic fashion. The Dutch, no longer restrained by a fear of prejudicing the negotiations in Europe, promptly sent a small force to Porakād, and on 1 July seized Grigby and carried him to Cochin. Writing from thence on 16 July to the factors at Calicut, he gave the following account of his capture.[3]

On the first instant the Dutch entered our factory with 25 or 30 musketiers, delivered me immediately in the custody of 10 souldiers and a sergeant, not suffering me to take any more then I had on my back; which guarded mee to this place, where I was

[1] Asiatics serving as soldiers. For the derivation of the term see Sir Richard Temple's article in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1921, p. 106.

[2] An extract from the diary of Van Goens, describing his visit to Porakād, will be found in *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xxvii. no. 728.

[3] For brief references see the *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, pp. 360, 372.

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clapt up, without any reason given wherefore; none, not so much as their own people, being suffered to come nor speake to me. Sad comfort after two yeares sicknesse. God be mercifull to me, Who I hope will deliver Mr. Harrington out of their wicked hands, though I know they will use all meanes possible. You are allso menaced; therefore looke about you, and take this as a caveat. . . . I send this out of prison with a great deale of difficulty, being prohibited pen or paper . . . the materialls being now brought by chance.

The news was sent on to Surat from Calicut in a letter of 28 July, which also said that Harrington had been seized by the Dutch and carried to Tuticorin.[1] The Calicut factors had sent Grigby, at his request, a little money to enable him to secure medical attention. The Kārwār factors likewise wrote the news to Surat on 25 August.

On 20 December Grigby found means to dispatch a letter to Surat, in which he said:

As for Mr. Harrington, he was taken much about the same time that I was, in Cale Velha, and sent to Columbo; and about 20 dayes since I heard, by the Second of this place, that he was sent for Batavia.[2] . . . I was three monthes kept up in the maine guard of this citty, with such severity that they would not suffer their own people to come neare me; but now, by reason of my sicknesse, they permit me to walk in the citty. The admirall Ryckloffe is dayly expected from Zeiloan with two shipps, and the report is that he will send said two shipps from hence to Cape Bon Esperance, there to joine with the Battavia fleet, to goe for Holland; in which shipps perhaps I must take my passage. Well, let them doe their worst. They shall not have their will of me, for I am resolved to be contented with Gods pleasure.

He begged consideration of a former application for payment of his arrears of wages, as he had received no more than 20*l.* during his whole period of service.

What the Company lost in mony [at Porakād] I am not able to testifie, there being none in my custody. The guns[3] etc., with all our necessaries, with one hundred candy of pepper, they have brought to this citty; their factour resident in our place. As for our necessaries and what else they found in our chests, [they] were publiquely sold at an outcry. [They] delivered me most part of

[1] See the *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, p. 331.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 364, 366, 412, 416. The English at Bantam demanded his release (p. 410), but no notice was taken of this, and Harrington remained a prisoner at Batavia until 15 August, 1667, when he and another Englishman made their escape.

[3] Some cannon which had been sent down from Surat for sale.

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my clothes at the three monthes end. Yet there is still neare another hundred candy [of] pepper which they cannot light on, it being up in the countrey. . . . The pepper is in Vittola Naiques custody, the Kings merchant, he being paid for the whole 200 candy. . . . I cannot perceive yet but that the Kings heart is still good towards us, but alas! he durst not help us.

Before concluding Grigby added that he had just received a letter from the broker which suggested that Viththala Nāyak intended 'to play the knave' by detaining some money he had received from Grigby and Harrington (probably for private trade). If he could get an opportunity Grigby would write to the King about the matter; if not, he trusted that it would be borne in mind in Surat, should any recovery be made in future.

This letter was entrusted secretly to an Indian who was about to return to Surat. On Christmas Day Grigby managed to convey to him a further communication for the President in which he said that he said that his hopes of being sent to Holland had been frustrated, as the Dutch ships referred to had gone direct from Ceylon to the Cape. He had written to the King of Porakād about Viththala Nāyak.

Mr. Harrington is gone from Colombo to Batavia; and I beleive I had gone thither allso, only they had a litle compassion in regard of my infirmity. Yet since the bearers being here [I] have committed some words with him by stealth, which have proved a restorative to me, that I am infinitely amended; desiring Your Worshipp etc. to commiserate this my unhappy condition and for my better supportation send me some corporall consolation [1] (if it be not Spanish, Persia will suffice), directing it to the Second of this place by their shipps. His name is Cornelius Valkenburg. . . . Your Worshipp etc. must not own the receipt of any letter from me; and for the consolation, I suppose it best to come in Mr. Grays name.

Leaving Grigby and Harrington in captivity, we must now go on to Calicut, at which place, as related in the last volume, Smeaton and Barbor had been left by the *Royal Charles* in the autumn of 1664 to start a factory. The Zamorin, as the King of that district was called, was still powerful enough to keep the Dutch at a distance, though he was evidently apprehensive lest he should suffer the same fate as his neighbours, and his main object in inviting the

[1] Wine is obviously intended.

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English to settle in his dominions had been to secure their aid against the common foe. The resentment of the Dutch, and the retaliatory measures taken by them, have been noted already on p. 13.

On 23 February, 1665, the two factors wrote to Surat that they had paid the customs on the pepper carried off by the *Royal Charles*, and had struck a bargain for a further quantity in barter for part of their opium.

> Wee have been extreamely exclaimed on by the cheife officers here and of the Samarines court for want of presents. Some wee have been forced to buy to content the hungry desires of the two grand officers of this place, by whose protection only wee can be secured in this port where wee now inhabit. Wee have by this junk returned Your Worship, repack'd in a basket, 10 bottles of achar [pickles], which were sent us instead of Shirash [Shirāz wine]. . . . Our cooke is turned fuckeer, having pawn'd all his clothes, as allso his very knife, for arracke and toddy, and is proceeded on a pilgrimage, wee know not whether; and therefore humbly crave Your Worshipp to order us another by the first conveyance; as allso to supply us with four carbines and a convenient quantity of bullets, for our security in our new house, which wee hope in time will be compleated for us.

Two days later the factors wrote again, saying that, 'to our brokers infamy and our own sorrow,', they had been forced to cancel the bargain for pepper. The contractors, it appeared, expected the English to advance the whole of the cash necessary for the purchase of the pepper up country, and this seemed too unsafe a course to be adopted. The factors complained bitterly of the conduct of the broker in this and other instances, and desired to know whether it was the President's wish that they should 'follow his advice in every perticuler'. They had urged him to go up country himself and buy the pepper, but this he was unwilling to do.

Before this letter came to hand the President and Council wrote at some length to Calicut on 27 March, replying to the letters brought by the *Royal Charles*. With reference to complaints made therein against the broker, it was suggested that the factors, whose experience was very limited, had been hasty in forming an adverse opinion after so short an acquaintance; however, since he did not give satisfaction, another would be sent in the next

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shipping. As for the demand for presents, 'if they will not accept you without bribes, you shall come again as you went'. That 'checqueens' (sequins) produced no more than 16 fanams was thought strange. The rest of the letter is concerned with commercial details and instructions.

On 5 May Oxenden and his colleagues wrote again, having by this time received the factors' letters of 23 and 25 February. In view of the reiterated complaints against the broker,

We have with greate perswasions at last prevail'd with another[1] to try his fortune with you; for we must tell you your hott and cholerick dispositions are soe represented here by some lately come thence that we find it very difficult to provide you with either broker, cook, or servingman. The first we have at last prevail'd with. We are sure he is able; and it must be your parts to keep him honest. His reputation at present is unspotted, and hope will continew soe. We leave him to your civill usage, and not to those severe blows some with you now have felt. By a letter from the old man we find he is sufficiently wearied and desires a release; soe that we hope you will be both pleas'd. Only we shall desire you fairly to cleare accomptts with him and not to detaine anything from him.

The Council agreed that it was unsafe to advance so large a sum as 36,000 fanams to 'any one Mallabarr at once'. In such a case some other merchant of repute should be bound with the contractor, and the bargain formally made before the Shāhbandar and other officials.

According to the manner of dealing in that place, wee find there is a necessity of trusting before you can bee possesst of any quantities of pepper. And yet we doe not thinke it reasonable the whole money should be paid him before hand and for such large quantities; but for 30, 40, or 50 candy at a time you may venture, and soe, they bringing in that, more money may bee paid them. And soe you may employ three, four, or more of those you call beasts, such being the only merchants there and such as you must deale with if you trade amongst them. And by this meanes of employing severall, they may be perswaded to undertake it more reasonable then the other, rather then not be employ'd; and this must be the way you must procure your pepper more reasonable.

However, the factors must be the best judges, being on the spot.

[1] Later in the letter his name is given as Beni Dās. His predecessor's name was 'Meagee' [Mīhaji ?].

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As for the suggestion that they should be ordered to follow blindly the advice of their broker,

Surely you were as well touch'd in braine as body, when you wrote this . . . else would you not have concluded us soe voyd of all reason as to give you any such commission; which graunted, pray what is your businesse, or what reason hath the Company to be at the charge of maintaining you there, when we very well know the broker can doe the businesse much cheaper then by you, for of them those large presents would not be expected.

Finding the factors so 'strangely sett on giving', the Council enclosed an account of all the presents made by Master during his abode in those parts, amounting to little over 2,700 fanams.

However, that you may not say we loose a sheep for an halfe-pennyworth of tarr, we have herewith sent you plentifully to sowe, and shall wait for that great increase you speake of. Only we require you to keep to these things, and not to lash out into others that may be more expensive to the Company. . . . We very well know them to be a craving, begging people, such as will never seeme to be satisfy'd, and therefore must not be humour'd, for they have impudence enough to beg the very cloaths on your back; soe that you must with as much confidence deny them.

According to report, war with Holland had actually broken out; but confirmation was awaited. In the meantime the factors were to buy as much pepper and cassia lignum as they could procure.

Owing to the junk not sailing, this letter was perforce held back until 23 May, and was then dispatched via Kārwār, with a brief note stating that private letters from the Consul at Aleppo had made it certain that hostilities had commenced.

On 12 May Smeaton and Barbor had sent a further report to Surat, in which they again complained of their broker's 'damnable knavery'. 'It was well that they had not trusted him;

For, not many dayes since, here was not a Bannian that did dare to appeare, but every one flew for shelter where he thought he might be most secure, in regard of the Moores abuse to them, grounded upon the sole accompt that, as long as they were permitted to inhabite to trade here, their [i. e. the Moors'] credit lay a bleeding, and they could never expect to be imployed by merchants for the gaining a subsistance for the releife of themselfes or family.

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About three months back they had sent their broker, with money and opium, to buy pepper at 'Pendanny,[1] Pallore,[2] Tannore[3]' and other places; but so far the results had not been encouraging. Their pepper had cost about 182 fanams per candy. The opium they had was very poor in quality, and, since the arrival of seven vessels from Broach with that commodity, the price had gone down to 250 fanams per candy.

Our new house is not as yet finish'd, in regard these people have been disappointed of those usuall presents that our predecessours bestow'd upon them; and many impertinent abuses for this cause have been cast upon us, as in stopping our boates of pepper in port, upon accompt of payment of new duties that the Samarines officers impose upon us, from which wee might be freed, had wee presents to give to the Samerines Councell etc., by whom he is solely governed in all things. But wee hope Your Worshipp hath supplied us with a bale of presents by the Surat shipps, now dayly expected.

The Surat letter of 27 March came to hand on 17 May; and writing a month later, Smeaton and Barbor said that its perusal, owing to its

In generall implying our having incurr'd your displeasure, did soon allay our inward joy for our being that very morning freed, by an entrance into our new house, from those many inconveniences wee had, by reason of our former ill accomodation, susteined in that place.

They humbly deprecated the bad opinion formed of their conduct, and hinted that they must have been traduced by the broker. The money which he had apparently alleged to be detained from him was the proceeds of some opium he brought from Surat to sell on private account (whose, he knew not, until further advice). It was at his own request that it was being kept for him, and he had recently entreated the factors to retain it,

In regard, as he pretended, that the Divell, some few nights past, hath conveyed out of his chest 740 fanams; so that he will not adventure to keep any mony in his possession.

With respect to presents, their application was based entirely on the broker's representations; in proof of which they sent his

[1] Ponnāni, where the Zamorin resided. It is about 35 miles south of Calicut.
[2] Pālūr, in the Ponnāni district. [3] Tanur, 15 miles north of Ponnāni.

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list of persons to be feed and the amount to be given to each. Finding them obdurate in the matter,

He proceeded to bring severall persons to our house, whom as soon as he had ushered in, he draweth forth from under his coate a present for them ; at which wee were not a litle amaz'd, in regard of our former protestations to him that wee would buy presents for none without an order from Your Worshipp. However, in regard the present he still brought was concluded upon between him and his guest before they came to us, and that wee might not at our first arrivall affront neither him nor them, or bring any disesteem on our selves, wee condiscended to give to three or four, upon his promise that he would introduce no more into our house ; which was soon out of his remembrance, for in few dayes he returned to the bringing more unto us in the like manner, who he then pretended were persons of greater rank and quallity then the former. However, that prevailed not at all with us, but what he gave them was upon his own score, wee refusing to take any notice thereof. It hath been by his perswasions that wee have not as yet visited the Samarine, in regard wee wanted presents for his Councell, for whom since wee have now received Your Worshipps positive order not to allow any.... The charecter you now give us, Honoured Sirs, of these Mallabarrs wee can now from our own experience affirme to be most true ; for wee have found them men only in outward appearance, but sordid beasts by their natures and dispositions. They are [a] beggerly, treacherous, dissembling generation, amongst whom faith nor honesty is not to be found ; and some of them have not been ashamed to confesse that the word or promise of a Mallabar was not to be credited or regarded, for what they promise in the morning was totally forgotten before the evening ; to all which wee may add their incredible delayes in all their procedings.

An account was then given of the progress of the broker's investments in pepper at Ponnāni and other places. According to order, they had taken over from him the proceeds of the opium he had sold on private account, and the owners should be paid for it at the rate of $3\frac{3}{4}$ fanams per rupee. The letter concluded with a few more commercial details.

On 28 July, as already recorded, the Calicut factors dispatched a hasty note to Surat with information of the seizure by the Dutch of Grigby and Harrington, adding :

Wee are menaced ; and how soon wee may participate with him [i. e. Grigby] in his mesery wee know not. Wee shall use all meanes

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possible for the defence of our honourable masters estate, though wee feare wee shall find litle assistance from these people, in case of any attempt of the Dutch against us, the Rajas, the commanders of the Naires, being so discontented for want of their expected presents. . . . [PS. News has come of] the Flemmings being arrived at Pendanny, first to request licence of the Samarin to seize upon us in the same nature; which if deni'd, wee suppose they will attempt it by force. God be our support in this our despairing condition.

All unaware of their correspondents' predicament, the Surat Council in the middle of August took advantage of the departure of some junks for Calicut to send the factors a supply of cotton, rosewater, and articles for presents; also a cook, who was to have four rupees a month. In an accompanying letter (dated 16 August) permission was given to send back the opium, if it could not be disposed of. The factors were to keep their goods in readiness for shipment, in case it should prove possible to send a vessel for them; but the war with the Dutch was making it difficult to effect this.

The Calicut letters of 17 June and 28 July reached Surat on 29 September, and on 9 October a long reply was dispatched.

Ours of the 27 March, we perceive, you have received, which (as you say) dampt your jollity at warming or entry of your new house; which if soe, you may blame your selves for giving the President the occasion, who is noe further offended then the justice of the case did require.

The new broker, Beni Dās, had since refused to accept the employment; so they must manage with the old one, or change him for a better, if they could find any such. 'You have received some principles of disaffection to the name of broker in generall, which . . . will weare out as you gather experience every day more then the other, especially if the party be able and active.' The factors were soothed with assurances that full confidence was felt in their good intentions and zeal. A promise was given of a supply of money, for which purpose sequins were thought to be best; but the ill-success of the consignment of opium, due to its inferior quality, would not deter the Council from repeating the experiment.

For we very well know ophium will be a staple commodity in those parts, especially since it is the cheife thing the Dutch prohibit the Malabars themselves to trade in; which prohibition, although

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it be not soe very strictly looked after as it ought to be, yet may in a very shorte time; and then we may share with the Dutch in it, in despight of their greatnesse. For, by not giving licence to any, either natives there or these people here, we are inform'd the Dutch have brought it to a strange rate already at Cochin, giving nothing but ophium in barter for pepper, at such prices that [it is] computed they have the pepper under 1½*d.* per lb.

Regret was expressed at the seizure of Grigby and Harrington. Endeavours would be made at a suitable time to secure their release, but for the present all concerned must have patience, 'as it is the chance of warr'. The factors should supply Grigby with any small sums of money he might need. As regards their fears for their own safety, it was presumed that the Zamorin would not suffer the Dutch to attack them; but it would be well to placate the principal persons as much as possible, and any expenditure necessary for this purpose in the way of presents would be condoned. The Council had had many anxious debates as to the possibility of getting the pepper, &c., at Calicut transported to Surat for shipment, but could see no hope of eluding the vigilance of the Dutch; so for the time being the factors must keep the goods warehoused, taking special precautions against fire or treachery on the part of the Dutch. A postscript, dated a week later, advised the dispatch of 400 'checkeens', which, with allowance for want of weight, had cost 1660⅝ rupees;[1] they had been insured at 4½ per cent., as they were being sent in a country vessel. A letter of 17 October informed the Calicut factors that a further sum of 600 sequins had been remitted in the same manner.

Our next intelligence about the two factors is contained in a letter from Kārwār of 27 November. This says:

Yesterday one Feggerero [Figueroa], formerly Scrivan [writer; *escrivão*] of Callicut to the Portugueese, now imployed by them at Basselore, did advise us by letters that Mr. Smeaton and Mr. Barbor, for feare of the Dutch, are retired up the countrey. He writes allso that there is a fleet preparing at Battavia to come against Bombay.

This news was evidently untrue, for nothing is said about leaving Calicut in a letter which the two factors sent from that place to Surat on 1 January, 1666. They acknowledged the receipt of the

[1] At 2*s.* 3*d.* to the rupee, this makes the value of the sequin a little over 9*s.*

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money, presents, &c., dispatched to them, and announced the death of the broker on 5 December. The appointment of a successor was solicited; and the request for carbines was renewed, in case of any attack from the Dutch, 'who continually swarme about us, but, wee presume, dare not to make any attempt upon us'. Details were given of their sales and purchases, and the annual account was duly transmitted.

Writing to the Company on 1 January, 1666, Oxenden and his colleagues gave hopes of obtaining a good quantity of pepper and cassia lignum from Calicut, could they but discover some means of bringing up the goods without risk of their falling into the hands of the Dutch,

Who, having had some unpleasing news of our Kings Majesties dealing with them, makes them rave about with more then ordinary rancour, seeking by all meanes possible to destroy us. . . . We cannot with safety send your owne ship to receive it; the danger is soe greate. For they have prohibited as well the natives of the country where the pepper growes as also the merchants and people of this place from dealing in it or transporting it to any other port or place, upon the penalty of confiscation of ship and goods, where it shall be found. The like penalty they have laid upon ophium, cotton, and cardamons; and with this restriction the Dutch give their passes to all vessails that trade, who (poore people) are faine to accept them on those termes, not daring to transgresse upon any considerations whatsoever; for the Dutch have already secur'd all ports and places from whence all such commodities are brought and carryed, by making blockhouses on the sea side on convenient distances, with a guard of eight or tenne men in each, which are as watch houses; besides small vessails of theirs, which coast too and fro, that nothing can escape them. This hath already brought the cittadell of Cochin to their beck; for the natives of those parts not being able to live without ophium, which now they cannot have but from the Dutch, who have already brought it into such esteeme among them, that they have all the pepper which is the growth of those parts in truck for it, giving out their ophium at such rates that the pepper comes in to them at 1½*d.* and 1¾*d.* per lb.; having now made a mart at the said cittadell, and declare to sell to all that shall come there for it at 5½ rupees per maund; soe that now these people are forced to kisse the rodd and goe downe thither to buy it. [So] that the last and safest way that we could pitch upon was to contract with a merchant of this towne to deliver up 50 tunns of this commodity, free of freight, here at this place, the whole adventure at sea etc. to be his, and we not to be

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concern'd or disburse any money untill we shall receive the commodity.[1] The vessail that is to bring it up was dispeeded downe the coast about the 25 October, which is timely enough; and yet we doubt what complyance we shall have from the party with whom we have made this bargine. But it was a force putt with us, and not apprehending any other meanes to preserve you from a losse. In ours to you of the 31 March last we acquainted you with what we were inform'd from some Mallabarrs, natives of Callicutt, which since is confirm'd by your factors from thence, likewise publikely spoken of all over this towne, to wit, that the Dutch have and doe declare that, if the Samarin or Rajah of that country doe suffer our nation to settle there, they will not only refuse to give them passes, but also declare and act against them as enemies. Soe that by these and other their practices 'tis evident they doe intend to make themselves as much the masters of all the pepper countries as now they are of the other spices; but now we hope the time is come that we shall share stakes with them, as well in the one as the other. Hitherto we doe not only keep in with the Rajah or Samarin, but keep them out, although they have endeavour'd to settle there two or three severall times since your servants have been there; the Samarin having told the Dutch he will not by any means admitt of their inhabiting in his country; which doth not a little trouble them and rejoyce us. For should they be admitted, they would find one divelish contrivance or other to remoove us thence, and then we should not know whither to goe; there being only Batticolla left unpossessed, the product of which place will not be sufficient to supply the Portugall, when they shall enter upon trade again as formerly.

The seizure of the factory at Porakād and the imprisonment of Grigby and Harrington were next related. The previous consignment of pepper was invoiced at Surat at 6*d.* per lb. to cover a possible loss of weight; but it would be seen from the books that the actual cost was less than that. The measures taken by the Dutch had so raised the price that

It hath been sould in this towne at 12 and 13 rupees per maund; which eight years since might have been bought in greate quantities, even thousands of maunds, at 10, 10½, and 11 mamoodies per maund the highest price . . . and we are perswaded, if the Dutch were lett alone but a few yeares more, they will yet dowble the price of what it is now at.

[1] This decision was taken at a consultation held in Surat on 16 October. The merchant's name was 'Banji Revodas' (see p. 88), and the price to be paid for the pepper on delivery at Surat was 7½ rupees per maund.

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Later on in the same letter the President and Council referred hopefully to the Calicut factory as likely to be beneficial for procuring pepper, cassia lignum, and cardamoms, besides the indirect gain in preventing the Dutch from settling in the Zamorin's dominions.

THE MADRAS AGENCY, 1665

THE first letter we have from Fort St. George this year is one sent on 30 January to Surat, signed by the Agent, Sir Edward Winter, and his two Members of Council, Jeremy Sambrook and William Dawes. It answered one of 30 November, 1664, and contained little beyond a defence of the Council's action in sending John Widdrington to Achin, and a request for advice as to the expediency of maintaining the factory at Tuticorin. Another letter of the same date commended to Oxenden's justice the bearer, ' a poore Banian ', who alleged that Travers had owed him a large sum of money for four years. The first of these letters reached Surat on 10 March, and on 7 April the President and Council replied. As for Widdrington, they refused further to ' fowle our fingers ' with him; while a denial was given to the suggestion made from Madras that the latter Agency had been entrusted with the control of dealings with Achin. With regard to Tuticorin, that factory had been made over to Winter's charge some time ago, and, since the Company had ordered its dissolution, there was nothing to be done but to recall Travers and ' totally desert it '. Winter's complaint that he had been taunted in previous letters was declared to be unfounded; all that Oxenden and his colleagues had done was to defend themselves against unjust aspersions. ' We pretend not to have anything to doe with your Agency. Our businesse with you is but small, and we wish it lesse, since you are soe apt to take exceptions.' As for Travers's debt to the Banian, he had declared that he could not pay until he could recover what was due to him from Dearing; he hoped that Winter would press the latter to make payment, and then he would discharge the debt without fail.

The difficulty of working with a man of Winter's passionate temperament is further exemplified in a private letter from Sambrook to his father in London, dated 15 February. In this he said

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that Winter fully expected to be superseded the following season and seemed only concerned to feather his nest in the meantime. When Sambrook pressed the contractors to deliver goods into the Company's warehouses, the Agent discouraged them from so doing, hinting that they would never be paid; and on Sambrook offering them his personal guarantee, Winter strongly objected, and declared that they must first pay him what they owed him, though they stoutly denied being indebted to him at all.

Whatt to make of the man I know not. Certainly, if the Divill did not possesse him and the feare of God cleane gone from him, hee would not dare to doe as hee doth, swearing and exeverating that one day, which hee will in the same manner deny the next. In the said paper Sir Edward bids us enquire where to gett mony at interest at the Companies allowance; and though it cannot bee gott at that rate, yet, if it could, hee would not accept of it, but his drift is to make Tim[manna] bring in mony to him for his remaining debt, and hee will have it entred in the bookes upon interest in another name and allow himselfe 1½ per cent. [i. e. per mensem], not suffering any one elce to bring in or give out mony for the providing of goods for the Company.

Sambrook had offered to lend money for the purpose himself, leaving the Company to fix the rate of interest; but Winter had refused to permit this.

Doubtless, if there doth not come out one this yeare to call him to accompt, after hee hath played his pranks and gott whatt hee can, hee will not stay soe long the next yeare, but shew the Company a faire paire of heeles and goe to Syam or Pegu, as hee himselfe once said to mee hee would, with his wife and family, if the Company did not deale fairely by him. . . . On the 26th of the last month Sir Edward told mee, in the presence of Mr. Dawes, that upon his arrivall here hee had proofe brought in against Tim[manna] etc. that they were the authours of Mr. Acourts death. I demanded of him then why hee did putt it up and not make them suffer the law. His answer to mee was that hee had agreed with them that they should not bewitch him, and that hee cared for noe more then to secure himselfe; yet then at that time hee did confesse that they were rogues and that hee could find in his heart to take 20,000 pagodas from them and bring it to the Companies accompt. Hee hath now another plott alsoe in hand to gett 4,000 pagodas of the people of the towne, that is, to make them compound for their houses that are about the wall or to have them pulled downe, under pretence of making a ditch about the towne. Whatt the end will

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bee I know not; but heare that some have already pulled downe their houses rather then to pay him any thing.

Continuing his story, on 6 March Sambrook wrote that he had now advanced Timmanna 1,200 pagodas of his own money, at 15 per cent. per annum, in payment of goods delivered for the Company's use, much to Winter's annoyance.

Of his plott for the getting mony from the townes people about the wall, some report that hee hath received 1500 pagodas, some 2050 pagodas. Knowne it is all over the towne, but hee hath never spoke of it to mee, neither will I bee knowne of it to him, that I heare of it. . . . I am of opinion that as yet hee hath not fingred any mony, because I can see noe signe of it; for had hee any (as I thinke, hee is bare enough) I should know of it by its flying, for it is as impossible for mony to stay with him as quick-silver in a mans body.

Winter was apparently more hopeful about his position, for he had declared that he expected the Company would send him out a new Council of able men. On this Sambrook commented that they should be either fools or knaves, for all the Agent would expect them to do would be to countersign his decrees.

Towards the end of March Winter departed for Masulipatam, on the pretext that Jearsey's accounts showed an over-lavish expenditure and included a number of debts that required to be investigated. Sambrook was left in charge of the town and fort, with instructions (25 March) that, in case of any danger threatening, he should consult Dawes, Herries, and Hugh Dickson, the gunner. Winter expected to return by the middle of May. Should a ship arrive from England in the interim, an express was to be sent to him; and meanwhile any gold received should be coined at once. A note on the back of the document, in Sambrook's handwriting, states that Winter gave him oral instructions not to let Proby go outside the town beyond the Company's garden. The Agent appears to have spent five days with the Dutch at Pulicat on his way (*Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, p. 186). Of his proceedings at Masulipatam we have no particulars.

Meanwhile the good ship *Greyhound* was steadily ploughing her way towards Madras, bringing, as Winter feared, a new Agent. As early as 22 August, 1664, the Court of Committees decided to

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make a fresh appointment, without waiting for the return of Buckeridge, who had been sent out to investigate the position of affairs. Doubtless this resolution was due to the many complaints and charges against Sir Edward that had come home; but it was brought forward on the plea that his time would expire in the following year and that he had expressed a desire to be relieved. Five persons were mentioned as suitable to succeed, among them Aaron Baker, formerly President at Madras, Edward Pearce, who had been President at Surat in 1655–6, and a certain George Foxcroft. The matter was again considered two days later, when Foxcroft was chosen by ballot for the post.

Hitherto nothing has been known about Foxcroft, either before he was appointed to Madras or after he came home in 1672. Although in his letter of appointment (21 December, 1664: *Letter Books*, vol. iii. p. 454) it was declared that the Court of Committees had had ' long experience both of your person and parts ', the only previous allusion to him in the Court Minutes is a trivial one under date of 17 December, 1652. A little research, however, has established a number of facts about his early career. The *Visitation of London*, 1633–5 (Harleian Society, p. 290), shows him in 1633 as a merchant of London, dwelling in Aldgate Ward, and states that he was the son of Richard Foxcroft of Cambridge. He had married Elizabeth,[1] daughter of Christopher Whichcot, and had then two infant sons. Moreover, the reference in his letter of appointment and the accusations afterwards hurled at him by Winter, make it fairly certain that he was the George Foxcroft who is mentioned in several of the *Calendars of the Domestic State Papers* as filling various posts under the Commonwealth government. In July, 1653, we find him appointed one of the Commissioners for Compositions. In the following January he was named a Commissioner for Prize Goods, and two months later he figures among the Commissioners of Excise. In 1655 he was sent to Scotland to settle the excise there, and in the same year was appointed to the Committee for Trade and to the commission for enforcing the laws relative to the printing of unlicensed books. November, 1655, saw

[1] Her brother, Sir Jeremy Whichcot, Bart., a well-known lawyer, was one of Foxcroft's sureties on his appointment, and afterwards (February, 1667) actively intervened on his brother-in-law's behalf.

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him enrolled in the Trade and Navigation Committee; and in the following March he was appointed one of the Commissioners and Collectors of Customs, a post which he seems to have retained until the Restoration. From entries in the *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding* (p. 2576) and in the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1654 (p. 56), he appears to have been among the purchasers of confiscated church lands; and the loss caused by the resumption of these in 1660 may have been the reason why, in spite of his advanced age,[1] he was willing to accept the post now offered. The choice of him, instead of some one with previous experience of the East, may have been due to a desire to placate Winter. With the same object in view it was decided that the latter should be Second in Council at Madras until his contracted period of service expired (which would be on 21 September, 1665) and should then be allowed to remain for another year or so, if he pleased, to settle his affairs. In these arrangements we may trace the influence of his friends and supporters in the Company, of whom his brother Thomas (one of the Committees) was the chief; but the result was an unfortunate one for all concerned.

It was not until the end of 1664 that the *Greyhound* (Captain Nathaniel Browning) and her consort, the *American*[2] (Captain Stephen Eastgate), were ready to sail for the Coromandel Coast. Foxcroft had been duly appointed 'Agent and Cheife Director of all our affaires in all our factories on the Coast of Coromandell and in the Bay of Bengala', at a salary of 200*l.*, and a yearly gratuity of 100*l.* 'or more, according as wee shall find you to demonstrate your dilligence and faithfullnes'. A sum of 200*l.* had been given him for outfit; and he had been allowed to take out his son Nathaniel and two servants. He carried with him a letter, dated 21 December, 1664 (*Letter Books*, vol. iii. p. 439), announcing his appointment. His Council was to consist of Winter, Blake, Jearsey, Proby, Niclaes, and Sambrook, together with any others Foxcroft and his colleagues might see fit to 'receive into Counsell'. The cargoes of the two ships were then given. They

[1] He was about sixty-four, according to the best evidence available. The *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665 (p. 331), says that he was over seventy, but this was an exaggerated estimate.

[2] See note on p. 1. Her burden was about 225 tons (*O.C.* 3192).

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carried bar gold to the value of 13,746*l.*, broadcloth (3,016*l.*), lead (1,535*l.*), quicksilver (2,329*l.*), vermilion (1,160*l.*), and brimstone (126*l.*), together with 300 muskets, four great guns and 500 iron cannon balls, some 'sea coale' (14 chaldron at 27*s.* 6*d.*), and a supply of wine, medicines, and stationery; total, 22,725*l.* The *Greyhound* was to be immediately reladen and dispatched to England, calling (if necessary) at Masulipatam to complete her cargo. In this way, it was hoped, she would escape the Dutch, should war ensue between the two countries. The *American* might accompany her, if sufficient goods were available on the Coast to lade both vessels; if not, she was to proceed to Bengal with the goods and money she had on board, thence to return direct to England. Fort St. George was to be put in a posture of defence against a possible attack by the Dutch, for which purpose the supply of ordnance, muskets, and ammunition was sent, with fifteen recruits and a surgeon (Philip Bradford).

The musketts are some of them light; which wee have caused to bee soe made on purpose, and wee question not but they will bee as serviceable as those which are heavier, and more pleaseing to the natives or others that shall make use of them; and therefore wee require you to traine up the natives in the use of armes, and arming them and such other of the inhabitants as may bee most usefull unto you and such as you can best confide in; and getting in a good stock of rice and other provisions, in case of a seige. Wee desire that you make it your espetiall care to settle a well ordered goverment within our Fort, and that daiely, duely, and reverently, both morning and evening, the service of the Almighty bee celebrated, more espetially on the Sabboth Day, both by prayer and preaching, that all our people may bee instructed in the way to Heaven and happinesse.

Swearing, drunkenness, and other kinds of debauchery were to be punished.

Next, that you settle a good goverment within your towne, and endeavour by all good and just waies to improve the trade and comerce thereof. In perticuler wee order that there bee a free markett for rice and all other victualls whatsoever, as also for jewells, without paying any custome, and likewise in all other merchandizes that may not tend to the Companies prejudice.

Papers were furnished containing accusations against Winter, Blake, Jearsey, Niclaes, Proby, and Dearing; the Agent and

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Council were directed to examine into these charges, and, if proved, to demand satisfaction from the offenders. Any one found unfit for the Company's service should be dismissed and sent home. All transactions were to be 'by the direction and joynt advice of our Agent and Counsell', and the latter were to have access to all books and papers. The Second at Fort St. George, and at all other places where there were more than two factors, must keep the accounts; and these, after being examined and signed by the Chief, were to be sent regularly from the subordinate stations to Madras, there to be examined and then sent home, together with the Fort accounts, consultation books, letter books, &c. Directions were next given for the better sorting and packing of calicoes, as also for their safe transport on board ship without being wetted. The Agent and Council were entrusted with full powers to place and displace factors, and to send home any that were accused of 'crimes or miscarryages'. Former directions were repeated as to the administration of the estates of deceased persons and the transmission to England of wills, &c. An annual list of factors was to be furnished, with their salaries and places of residence; also a diary of all events of note. Information should be yearly given of goods vendible 'in your parts, espetially all English manufactures'. The Committees then proceeded to answer the letters received from Madras during 1664, beginning with that of 20 July, 1663 (see the previous volume, p. 273), and including those brought by the *Madras Merchant* and the *Royal Katherine*, of which no copies are extant. The desire expressed by the King of Golconda to make an offensive and defensive alliance with the English had evidently startled the Committees.

Wee are utterly against it, not knowing what broyles and inconveniencies may bee thereby brought upon us. It is our desires not to bee engaged in any acts of hostillity . . . and wee . . . require you that you bee very cautious and circumspect in noe manner whatsoever to engage us in any such way, or in any other that may bring us to charge, our desires at present beeing rather to secure our selves then to offend others. . . . In reply to what written concerning Yecknam [Neknām] Caune, your new Nabob . . . and his high demaunds . . . wee hope it is brought to an amicable conclusion and that a faire corespondency is held with him, and our just rights and priveledges in our Fort and towne are noe way diminished but fully preserved and continued unto us. And as it

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is our desires not to part with any of those imunities and priveledges which wee have purchased with you, soe likewise it is our desires that you condiscend [i. e. agree] to such things as are just and reasonable and not tending to our disadvantage and prejudice.

After referring to some matters of minor importance, the Committees condemned the dispatch of the *Madras Merchant* to Siam, declaring that the factory there 'was only sett up for perticuler interests and proffitt' and forbidding its continuance. A refusal was given to the request (see the previous volume, p. 279) to be allowed to employ a ship on demurrage when there was not lading enough to enable her to return to England; while as regards the proposal (*ibid.*) to dispatch a vessel to the Maldives, the Court agreed to the second alternative, viz. that the Agent and Council should make a private venture thither, paying to the Company one-half of what might be recovered of the cargo of the *Persia Merchant*. The sale of the *Anne* and other vessels was approved, and orders were given to dispose of any other local shipping belonging to the Company. The employment of Edward Reade and Richard Clay was left to the decision of the Agent and Council. Henry Powell was appointed a factor at 30*l.* per annum, to commence from the arrival of this letter; his previous service would be considered later. If, as reported, Tuticorin would yield a considerable amount of pepper yearly, the factory there might be maintained, provided that the merchants would carry the pepper to Madras in their own vessels. The plea that it was impossible to check at Madras the landing of private trade was disallowed.

And if wee should give consent to your desires for the buying up of such prohibited comodities as our people bring out of England, wee conclude it would bee a greate encouragment unto you to take them at what prices you please from them; but wee shall not aprove of any such lybertie, but rather againe recommend unto you the makeing discovery and seizures of prohibited comodities.... And wee now further add that wee require that all comodities whatsoever that are not expressly prohibited by us in charter parties bee free to our marriners and all other our people, both out and home, to buy and sell to whome and when they please, without any restraint whatsoever.

If Robert Dearing should clear himself from the charges made

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against him, permission was given to continue him in the service.

Wee observe that you did abate 9,000 pagodas from the marchants out of the agreement for cloth bought of them and contracted for by Mr. Blake; whereof you place to our accompt 6,000 pagodas, 1000 pagodas spent in buildings, and 2,000 pagodas paid in peons wages. To this in gennerall wee answere that wee hope that this somme of 9,000 pagodas . . . was not extorted from them by power, but that you had a right and justifiable occasion given you soe to doe, by their not fully complying with their contract; for wee would not upon any accompt that you should wrest the least penny from any man that ought not justly to bee taken from him. And as to the 1000 pagodas spent in building, wee have allready respited our resolution to that, till wee shall know what they are and what use they will bee unto us. But that you should place 2,000 pagodas to accompt for peons wages, it is soe extravagant that wee cannot aprove thereof without better sattisfaction, beeing wee much doubt of the reallity and truth thereof. Wee observe what written concerning the factory of Metchlepatam and your thoughts of disolving the same, giveing us for reason that their expences are large and all callicoes (except ginghams) there made are procureable at the Fort, and that allso the factors there will not observe orders, but rather slight them.

Nevertheless, the Committees have decided to retain the factory at Masulipatam, but to dissolve all others (apart from Madras) on the Coast except one, the choice of which was left to the Agent and Council. As for giving strict injunctions to the subordinate factors to obey orders, they conceived that the Agent and Council had already ample powers to deal with any that were refractory. William Gifford was to be given a salary of 40*l.* and made a member of the Council.[1] Authority was granted to reduce the number of factories in Bengal. Full particulars were to be furnished of the wages paid to soldiers and mariners; and no factor or mariner should be paid more than one third, and no soldier more than one half of his wages. Inquiry was made how James Bearblock was employed. Nathaniel Foxcroft and Joseph Farley were being sent out as factors, at 35*l.* and 20*l.* a year respectively. A claim against Jearsey, in regard to the estate of William Johnson, was to be investigated.

On the *Royall Katherine* arrived Mr. James Bunce, whoe brought

[1] The Committees were of course ignorant of the fact that Gifford was returning to England.

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a present from some person in your parts to our Kings Majestie.[1] Wee cannot but wonder that you, haveing received that present, should committ it to the charge of a perticuler person and not rather have consigned it to us, that soe wee might have retorned some accompt of its disposure. What answere the messenger that brought it will retorne wee know not. However, wee cannot but reprove you for what you have done, and also to advise you that wee thinck it not convenient to encourage any such thing for the future.

A hope was expressed that the efforts made to secure the release of the English captives in Ceylon had proved successful; if not, they should be renewed. Any debts due to the estate of William Daniel should be recovered. At the request of Sir George Swift, the Agent was authorized to engage John Swift, if found suitable. The practice of giving assignments on the Company for balances due on account of wages was ordered to be discontinued, as there was a risk of the money having already been paid in England. As regards relations with Holland,

The treaty to this time hath produced nothing, neither is it probable it will; for it is now come soe farr (notwithstanding an open warr is not yet proclaimed) as to the seizure of shipps on both sides, and wee hope the Almighty will soe order things as to bring the Dutch, not only to make restitution for past wrongs and injuries, but also to good termes in the future, that wee may have freedome in our commerce in your and other parts without any their interuption; and therefore wee would not have you disheartned in the least. However, if the warr should continue, it must bee your espetiall care to secure your selves and our estates out of their hands, and to ease us of all charge possible, by reduceing our factories, selling off our goods, getting in all our debts, lending out our monies at interest in good hands, and beeing frugall in all expences, that the charge may bee borne till it shall please God

[1] See an article by S. M. Gregory in *The Asiatic Review*, vol. xxi (p. 113), Pepys's *Diary* (30 July, 1664), and a note on p. 59 of *The Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1664–7. As there stated, in the museum of the Public Record Office is a letter in Portuguese, dated 4 February, 1664 (N.S.), from 'Marco Rosado, an Armenian, Governor of Meleapor', i. e. Maliapur (San Thomé), to King Charles II, sending various jewels as a present and asking for the gift of a ship in return (see the museum catalogue, p. 31).

The name of the person employed appears to be wrongly given above. In the Public Record Office (*C. O.* 77, vol. xi. f. 217) is an undated petition from *Stephen* Bunce, stating that, about six years before, he had brought home a present of jewels from the Governor of San Thomé, and asking for a recompense for his trouble and the loss of his employment in India. Bunce was not a servant of the East India Company.

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that there bee a freedome of trade againe. . . . Wee pray you to bee very carefull that none of our people fall into the hands of the Dutch; and advise us what likelyhood there may bee of ladeing of shipps from your parts, in case the warr should continue.

Widdrington should be required to account for the estate of John Atkins. Two persons (one of them named Hearne) were endeavouring to get passages for India; should these, or any other unauthorized persons, be found on board the ships, they were to be returned to England. In the event of a continuance of hostilities, only one ship of about 300 tons would be sent the next season, with a stock of from twelve to fifteen thousand pounds. 'The hot pressing of [broad] cloth is now very much in use heere; and if it may bee liked off in that condition in your parts, advise us thereof and wee shall accordingly governe our selves.' The estates of any deceased persons were to be paid into the Company's cash, even if there was a duly appointed executor on the spot.

The charges against Winter and others which Foxcroft and his Council were to investigate are given at p. 463 of the same *Letter Book*. Those against Sir Edward included his passing back to the Company's accounts in February, 1663 (see the preceding volume, p. 267) the debts he had formerly incurred at Masulipatam: his disregard of his Council: his amassing by dishonest means an estate of 30,000*l*., one-third of which he had squeezed out of Timmanna and Kāsi Viranna: his alliance with those brokers to gain more, by 'cheateing the Company and marchants that bring in goods': his profuse expenditure, which was four times that of Agent Chamber: his extorting his own debts from the Masulipatam merchants, who were thereby rendered incapable of paying the Company: his ordering the Masulipatam factors to remove to Madapollam, which was against the Company's interests; and his refusal to work with those factors. Jearsey was charged with allowing English pilots to sail in his own and country vessels: with neglecting to recover freight money: with detaining vessels unnecessarily and disregarding the Agent's orders: with private trade in calicoes: with flogging and imprisoning Mr. Acworth: and so forth. Niclaes was accused of disobedience to orders, private trade, &c.; Proby of selling calicoes to ships' officers; and Dearing of several offences in Siam.

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To Winter himself the Company wrote a letter in a friendly tone (21 December, 1664: see *Letter Books*, vol. iii. p. 462), saying that, in view of his desire to be relieved, Foxcroft had been appointed to take charge on his arrival, and that it was hoped that Sir Edward would be 'helpfull and asisting unto him'. For the remainder of his contracted time, Winter was to be next in Council to the Agent, and to sit at table on the left hand of the latter. He was to consult his own convenience as to the time of his return to England, and 'as a demonstration of respect and kindnesse to you' he would be allowed to bring home, free of mulct, two or three tons of piece-goods.[1] Considering that the Court evidently believed that Winter was guilty of serious offences, this effusion seems weak and hypocritical. It was doubtless intended to placate the fiery Sir Edward and to smooth the relations between him and his successor; but it naturally rendered it harder for the latter to carry out the duty laid upon him of making a thorough investigation of past transactions.

Before Foxcroft sailed, a supplementary letter was addressed to him (4 January, 1665), suggesting that sappan-wood, from Siam or Bantam, might, if available, be used to complete the lading of the *Greyhound* or *American*, in the absence of more suitable goods.

The *Greyhound* reached Fort St. George on 22 June, 1665, and five days later the *American* arrived. Winter seems to have made no difficulty about surrendering his post to the new Agent, and for a time things went smoothly enough. On 28 June a letter signed by Foxcroft, Winter, Proby, Sambrook, and Dawes was sent to Surat, begging the President and Council to borrow 10,000*l.* and remit it to Madras, as the amount sent out by the Company was insufficient to defray charges and lade home the two ships. To this request, as we have seen (p. 19), an uncompromising refusal was returned.

It being impossible to find lading at Fort St. George for either of the ships, they were both dispatched on 8 August to Masulipatam and so to Balasore, where they arrived on 17 August. According to an extract from a letter of 29 August from Masulipatam to Madras, the Dutch Company had issued orders to their servants

[1] The same privilege had been promised to Foxcroft.

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to seize English ships wherever they were found. The Dutch Governor at Pulicat had accordingly urged an attack upon the *Greyhound* and *American* while at Masulipatam, but to this his Council would not agree, fearing to incur the resentment of the King of Golconda. They had written to the King, intimating their intention of so doing, 'after a manner of askeing leave'; but he returned no answer and apparently they thought it unwise to provoke him. The same letter said that the Dutch had been directed from Holland to

Do the English all the prejudice they can in theire trade or otherwise, repenting much that they had not St. Thoma, that they might the easilyer have spoyled our trade at Fort St. George, which, if the warr doth continue, they are resolved to take it, if they can. . . . It hath bin told us that the Dutch are tampering with Necknam Cawne for the takeing of our Fort . . . but tis a question whither by theire greate pishcashes they will ever obtaine theire ends on us . . . although at present wee stand in an ill leafe in Necknam Cawnes bookes.

However, Neknām Khān remained deaf to the Dutch blandishments, and they themselves did not care, it would seem, to attempt the reduction of Fort St. George.[1] This was fortunate, for the English there had quite enough to trouble them in the antagonisms that were developing in the settlement itself. A letter sent by Sambrook to his father on 26 June has not been preserved; but another of 11 July is still extant. After narrating a further dispute between himself and Winter, and mentioning that he had been appointed Accountant by the new Agent and Council (much to the annoyance of Proby, who desired the post), Sambrook expressed his surprise that the Company

Should send out an Agent that had never bin in India, but much more that they should continue Sir Edward as Second for the remainder of his time, with hopes of his assistance, which, though hee promiseth the Agent very fairely that hee will, yet I am sure hee doth the contrary, having still that influence upon Tim[manna] that betweene them they fright the merchants of the towne soe much as they dare not to come and speake with us, lest they should bee served againe as Sir Edward and Tim[manna] hath served them before; hee hoping and endeavouring all that possibly hee

[1] The Dutch secretly sent an emissary to reconnoitre the defences of Fort St. George (*Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, p. 331). For further references see *ibid.*, p. 347.

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can to continue Tim[manna] as hee was before, that soe the true price that is paid to the merchants may not bee knowne. And the merchants at present are afraid to come to an agreement with the Agent etc., or to make the price knowne that they did receive of Tim[manna] or to informe against him, lest hee should bee againe continued (being still backt by Sir Edward) as hee was in his time, with leave to doe what hee listed; and at that time after hee was by Sir Edward lett out of prison, it is said that hee forced from those merchants that did informe against him neere twice as much as hee gave to Sir Edward. . . . For the overplus of the price charged to the Company in their books and what paid to the merchants, by agreement betweene Sir Edward and Tim[manna] Sir Edward was to have it all; which, whenever it comes to bee examined, will bee found to bee above 10 per cent. upon the yearly investment, besides what the Company have bin wronged off by underselling some of their comodities; and as to that in one particular, the allom sold last yeare for 14 pagodas a candy was then worth above 40, and is now worth above 60, by reason of the Chinaes taking the place from the Dutch from whence they did use to bring it.

Sambrook felt certain that Timmanna and his colleagues would offer the new Agent the same terms as his predecessor had had, and that Winter would consent to this, in hopes that Foxcroft would then be obliged to condone his acceptance of such bribes. Sambrook had hinted as much to the Agent, who had replied that he hoped that no such overtures would be made, but if they were, he would acquaint Sambrook. The latter advocated doing away with all brokers and dealing direct with the merchants.

The only way to bring the Companies affaires againe into the right posture is by letting the trade to bee free to all commers and goers, and not a few rogues to stand betweene the Company and the merchants, as the worme betweene the kernell and the shell, undoing the merchants (as they have done a great many already) and cheating the Company, both in their goods bought and sold.

Sambrook was conscious that he and Dawes were looked upon by the brokers as their enemies, and he was apprehensive lest some attempt might be made upon his life. He expressed regret that the younger Foxcroft had been sent out, as he seemed to be under the influence of Winter, who was endeavouring to work upon the Agent through him. Proby had taken the same course, hoping to get Sambrook's post; but the latter trusted that the Company

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would appreciate his past services and continue him in his present employment.

It is evident that from the time of Foxcroft's arrival Sambrook had been urging upon him to take strong action against Winter. The new Agent, however, shrank from adopting this course and tried instead to placate his formidable adversary and to bring him to some satisfactory compromise. According to Sambrook's letter of 9 November, for some time

> The Agent was still of this mind that hee should win him [i. e. Winter] by faire meanes . . . and bring him to doe that which was right. . . . The Agent, further to please him in his beloved honour, upon his entring in and going out of the Fort, ordered allwaies the guards to bee drawne out for his greater state, licensed him to goe abroad as if hee had bin Agent, or more, with his flags, drumes, trumpetts, and pipes, with a traine of peons double to whatt waitted on the Agent.

This course of action, though well intentioned, was a mistaken one. The quiet London merchant, with his Puritanical upbringing, might smile at Winter's fondness for display; but the impression left upon the Indian mind was that Sir Edward was still practically the master and that it was unsafe to make any revelations that might tell against him. However, commercial jealousies were strong enough to induce some of the merchants to strike at Timmanna and his associates, albeit these were Winter's creatures; and thus Foxcroft's hands were forced. On 28 July (Sambrook tells us) several men brought charges against Timmanna and his fellow broker, 'accusing them of criminall matters, especially as to Mr. Acourt'. There appears to have been no evidence that the latter's death had been caused by the brokers; but the charge was a serious one, and the Agent thought it his duty to cause the accused to be arrested and imprisoned in the Fort. He then proceeded to the investigations ordered by the Company, at the same time doing his best to spare Winter's susceptibilities. Sir Edward tried every artifice to foil the proceedings and to shield his confederates; but Foxcroft was soon convinced that the main allegations were true and that his predecessor had not only shared in the high profits the brokers had made out of their contracts, but had also permitted Timmanna and Kāsi Viranna to tyrannize over the inhabitants and monopolize the trade. The latter abuse

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Foxcroft at once took steps to remedy by reviving the practice of appointing a European as Justice. As he told the Company in a letter of 26 September, he

Setled Mr. William Dawes (the only fit person of your servants) in the Chourtrie [1] and governement of the towne; and at his solemne investment assembled together the cheif of the inhabitants and charged him in their presence that he showld take spetial care that there might be no restraint at all, as had bene formerly, be laid or permitted, to hinder any person from coming into the towne to bring and dispose of any goods as he pleased for his best advantage, and to bee careful without partiality to administer equall justice to all men. . . . And if any person showld have just occasion of greivance, I would myself heare the case and give such reliefe as should be right. These things, being new and strange to these enthralled people, did marvelously please them, and they by their countenances and carriage promised to themselves much prosperity under your government and in their way expressed thancks to God for your tender care in so providing for them.

While the two brokers were in prison, Foxcroft received a message from Neknām Khān, who had a complaint to make against Winter. To quote again from the Agent's letter:

There came to this towne from the court of Golcundah a Persian about twoe elefants of Necknan Caun (whoe is Generall of all the Kings forces and greatest in power), whoe complained in his first letter to me that Sir Edward had unjustly detained them a long tyme from him, and much more of his unworthy carriage to him, whoe had bene alwaies a real friend to promote all his buisines and what concerned the English; at which hee tooke so great offence that he gave this sharp item in his letter: 'If you will doe as hee hath, never write to me, nor will I to you, for though I heare a fame of the justice of the English, yet I doe not finde it so.'

Foxcroft prevailed upon Winter to surrender the elephants, and wrote to Neknām Khān to acquaint him of this and to assure him that he should always find justice at the hands of the English.

Hee received much satisfaction from my letter and made a very amicable returne, and (as I am informed) sent afterwards towards me some honorable testimonies of his respect; and that the like came from the King of Golcundah, but, meeting in the way the newes of what is hapned to me, the messenger that brought them

[1] The Choultry, or open hall in which suits were heard.

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cutt downe a tree as a testemony how farr he had proceeded, and so returned back.[1]

It was important to keep on good terms with Neknām Khān, since the controversy about the amount of rent to be paid for Madras (see the last volume, p. 384) was still unsettled. On this point, in his letter of 26 September to the Company, Foxcroft said that, at the time of his arrival,

We were in dayly expectation to have had the arreares of rent called for; about which Neckam Caun writ to me in his first letter, and I retorned answere that it should be ready, according to the rent formerly paid, whenever he would please to send for it. But he returned no answer thereto; which gives me to believe that that would not satisfye. But I am apt to believe that I should have found faire quarter from him, and by a composition to have gayned a settlement of your antient priveleges and the goverment of this towne confirmed upon you by a firmand; which it is true you now doe execute de facto, but whether it be de jure I can finde no suffitient footsteps to proove. Therfore, if you shall continue your resolutions to hold this place and trade, it wilbe necessary to be done, least a Moore be imposed upon you for the goverment thereof, which in many circumstances wilbe prejudicial to you.

According to Sambrook, Winter sent Venkatadri, the brother of Timmanna, 'to the Governors hereabout, to stir them up to endeavour' the release of the two brokers; and further intrigued with Neknām Khān's emissary 'to gaigne the goverment of this towne etc. into his owne possesion'. Foxcroft confirms both statements, and, in regard to the latter, says that he had received information of Winter's endeavouring to

Procure it [i. e. the Fort] to be beseiged, and of imploying instruments whoe promised to beare the charge of the seidge, and of his contrivance to get the goverment of this towne and Medapollan and another of which I remember not the name.[2]

That one who had thus conspired against his employers and his fellow countrymen should bring a charge of treason against others might provoke a smile; but the incident shows to what straits Winter had been reduced. In the East (according to Foxcroft) he

[1] For some particulars see Sambrook's letter of 9 November.

[2] Narsapur, according to *O.C.* 3162, which purports to give a detailed account of the intrigue.

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had but 'a broken fortune, he having squanderd out most or all of his estate in such adventures and to such hands as that by prudent men it is accounted alltogether desperate'.[1] In England the Company held heavy security, and would soon have materials in their hands for a lawsuit that might beggar him. A rumour that the Agent had resolved to seize and send him home was the final incentive that drove him to violence.

The documents relating the events which followed are so numerous, both at the India Office and at the Public Record Office,[2] that to quote from them in detail would require an inordinate amount of space; and such a course appears the less necessary, inasmuch as Col. H. D. Love, in his *Vestiges of Old Madras* (vol. i. pp. 224–43) has already printed long extracts.[3] We shall therefore confine ourselves to a narrative of the main facts.

Winter had spared no pains to gain over as many as possible of the leading members of the English community; and in this he had been aided by the unpopularity of the Agent and his son. The moral tone of the settlement was low, and the staid demeanour of the two Foxcrofts was felt to be a reproach. Proby, a member of the Council, had a grudge against Sambrook and was inclined to take Sir Edward's side for that and other reasons. Francis Chuseman, the commander of the garrison, had grievances about his pay and was influenced by his wife, to whom Sir Edward had given 'fyne guifts and large promises'. Joseph Farley, who had been brought out by Foxcroft, was won over by special attentions, to say nothing of his own desire to be able to revel unchecked in the debauchery he found so prevalent. Last, but by no means the least important of the faction, was the chaplain, the Rev. Simon Smythes, a hard-drinking, pleasure-loving ecclesiastic[4] who could not abide

[1] Winter had a large stock of calicoes on hand, but these had probably been obtained in part on credit. Fearing lest Foxcroft should seize them, he dispatched Reade to Pulicat, asking permission to send the goods thither for sale (*Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, p. 331).

[2] *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. nos. 112 to 134; vol. x. ff. 15, 16.

[3] See also the report of the Historical MSS. Commission on the Finch MSS., vol. i. p. 441, for a contemporary narrative, which, however, adds nothing fresh. An account by an eye-witness will be found in the deposition of William Hutchins, on which see p. 389 of the preceding volume.

[4] The deposition of Hutchins, (see the last volume, p. 389) gives the following account of him: 'Mr. Smithes, the minister, is to this deponents owne knowlidg and observation a very debached person, and druncke very frequently, topling with the meanest

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Roundheads; while the fact that he had married a niece of Sir Edward [1] was in itself sufficient to carry him over to that side. It was probably his quick wit that discovered the most plausible excuse to be made for the outbreak. To charge the Agent with treason against the King would not only rally to Winter's side all those who were anxious to avoid the imputation of disloyalty, but would also disarm the Company at home, who would naturally be cautious about espousing the cause of any one accused of so serious a crime; at the same time, should the attempt fail, it could be excused on the ground of zeal for His Majesty's service. The grounds for the charge were weak; but Farley and Smythes were ready to depose that, some time in the middle of August, the younger Foxcroft had said, in the course of an argument at the dinner table, that he was not bound to obey King Charles any longer than the latter could protect him, that he was obliged to maintain his private interest before that of his sovereign, and that His Majesty's only claim to his crown was that of conquest: further, that, on the chaplain protesting against such language, the Agent had interfered to check him, and had remarked that no king in Christendom had any other title to his crown but by conquest. Even had such words been spoken, they appear trivial, whatever allowance be made for the perfervid loyalty of the early days of the Restoration; but Sambrook afterwards deposed on oath that he heard nothing of the kind, though his position at table was such that none of the conversation could escape him. Another difficulty for Winter was that although, by his own confession, he was immediately informed of this monstrous treason, he took no action until nearly a month later; this, however, he excused on the ground that his first intention was to content himself with referring the matter to England. The truth seems to be that he and his partisans were hesitating all this time to make the plunge, and were finally induced to take action by the consideration that on 21 September Sir Edward would cease to be Second in Council and would therefore have less chance of taking the Agent's place.

The plan, once adopted, was quickly put into execution. On

and worst of the souldiers, with whome hee will play at tables and at nine pinns and will tipp for a bottle of sacke or a pagothy att a tyme; which is a great scandall to our nation and religion.'

[1] P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 15, 16.

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the morning of 14 September, accompanied by Smythes and Farley, Winter, armed to the teeth, presented himself before the astonished Council, charged the two Foxcrofts with treason, and demanded that the depositions of his two witnesses should be taken on oath. The Agent indignantly denied the accusation; while Sambrook and Dawes pointed out that they had no power to administer an oath and scouted the idea of their taking action upon such a charge. Somewhat nonplussed, Winter flung out of the Council chamber and, going down to the soldiers of the garrison, demanded their aid in securing the traitors; but meeting with no response, he was about to leave the Fort, when the Agent appeared and ordered him to be disarmed and placed under restraint. Winter withdrew sullenly to Proby's chamber, and after some demur gave up his arms. His confinement, however, was merely nominal, and the intrigue went forward at an accelerated pace. Proby and Chuseman were finally won over, and Smythes busied himself in corrupting the soldiers. The next day he and Winter signed a formal requisition to Proby and Chuseman to arrest the two Foxcrofts. Accordingly on the morrow (16 September), just before prayers, the Agent, who was in his room with his son and Messrs. Sambrook and Dawes, heard an unusual noise in the courtyard and, going downstairs, accompanied by the rest of the party, found Chuseman and about twenty soldiers armed with pistols, swords, and pikes. As soon as the party appeared, they were fired at. Winter and Chuseman alleged afterwards that Foxcroft and his associates attacked Chuseman with pistols and swords, and that the latter stood entirely on the defensive; but this seems to have been untrue. At the first volley, the Agent himself, Sambrook, and Dawes fell wounded, the last-named mortally. Nathaniel Foxcroft, darting back to his room, seized a pair of pistols and returning fired at Chuseman. The pistols missed fire;[1] and their owner then closed with his adversary, endeavouring in his rage to throw him down a well in the courtyard. Chuseman's soldiers came to his rescue, and the younger Foxcroft was knocked down and wounded in several places. Dawes died within a few hours; the rest were confined in separate apart-

[1] Hutchins repeats a story that Mrs. Chuseman had that morning gained admission to Foxcroft's room on some pretext and had removed the priming powder.

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ments, the Agent himself being thrust into a 'by-hole', low and dark.

The next step was to prefer a formal charge against Sambrook and Dawes for aiding and abetting Foxcroft in his treason. This was necessary to justify the imprisonment of the former and his exclusion from Council. Winter and Proby, as the two remaining members on the spot, assumed the direction of affairs; but it was thought best, since Winter's term of office was nearly expired, to strengthen their position by calling to the Fort the two members at Masulipatam, viz. Jearsey and Niclaes. An urgent letter was therefore dispatched to them by Proby (16 September), in the course of which they were exhorted to forget their animosities against Winter, who, they were assured, would be willing, at the expiration of his period of service, to surrender his authority to any one 'to whome of right it may devolve'; and a more formal summons, signed by Winter and others, was sent on the following day. It was, however, more than doubtful whether Jearsey and Niclaes would come, and in any case they could not arrive for some time. An assembly of all the Company's factors and military officers at Madras was therefore held on 19 September, at which a resolution was carried to invite Winter to continue to act as 'Cheif Director' at the Fort until further orders should arrive from the Company, or until it should be directed otherwise by a majority of the full Council (including the members who were at Masulipatam or in Bengal). To this Winter gave a written consent on the same day, recording that it had been agreed that, should the absent members declare against him, he should be at liberty to dispose of his estate and leave the settlement without hindrance. A private letter from Proby to Jearsey of 23 September hinted that, had the latter been in Madras, he would probably have been chosen in preference to Sir Edward.

The imprisoned brokers were released and 'carryed home in state'; and Chuseman was rewarded with the post of Purser. Winter and his associates then set to work to justify their proceedings in letters to the President at Surat, to Cooke at Bombay, and to the King,[1] the Archbishop of Canterbury,[2] and the Company at home. Sambrook tells us that the letter to His Majesty was the

[1] *O.C.* 3052, 3100; also P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix, nos. 129–31. [2] *O.C.* 3101.

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work of Smythes; and it seems probable that the one to the Company (30 September) came from the same pen. It was a masterpiece in its way. It spoke respectfully of the Agent and deplored 'his sad misfortune', which was put down to his rashness in trying to shield his son. 'Our now disconsolate friend Mr. Jeremy Sambrooke' was also pitied and was credited with ignorance rather than evil intentions. Winter's own attitude was insinuated to be that of one who had been regretly forced to take action by the gravity of the accusations made, and who had then with reluctance taken charge temporarily, in order that the Company's interests might not suffer. Some particulars were given of the progress of the investment, but further advice was promised at the return of the ships.

Winter's seizure of authority found no favour in other parts of India. Jearsey and Niclaes, as soon as they heard of it, communicated the news to Surat (1 Nov.), at the same time denouncing Sir Edward's action in the strongest terms. Ridicule was poured upon his affectation of intense loyalty.

> Tis but of late yeares, if at all, and may be since Sir Edward was dubb'd, that he hath affected monarchy; for but just before he went for England he would needs have Olivers colours put up upon the flagstaffe in this factory, and all that wee could doe that were then here could not diswade him from it at that time (but they were never up before nor since), that the townes people came running to inquire what wee had got there.

Advice was sought as to the steps to be taken to restore Foxcroft to his post; and it was suggested that Oxenden should ask the Viceroy of Goa to issue a proclamation prohibiting the Portuguese at Madras from aiding Winter, and should himself publish orders to the English there to the same effect, besides sending 'a schooling letter to Proby of four lines'. Oxenden and his Council replied on 13 December, expressing their abhorrence of Winter's proceedings and their readiness to co-operate in securing his overthrow. They thought it useless to solicit the aid of the Viceroy, for 'never had our nation soe malitious and spitefull an enemy . . . since the peace concluded between both kingdomes'. A suggestion made in a letter from Masulipatam to the Company, that the King of Golconda should be requested to assist in the reduction of Madras

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was also discountenanced, for fear lest the King should refuse to give up the Fort once it was taken. They approved Jearsey's action in warning the English there, both soldiers and freemen, of the risks they ran in abetting rebellion, and they forwarded a declaration to the same effect. In conclusion, they announced that John Willett had sent news from Basra that the English and Dutch fleets had met

The prime of June and had a desperate conflict untill the 3d.; in which shock the admirall of Holland was burnt and sunke, and their gennerall, by name Opdam, slaine. The like was the vice admirall, and in the conclusion, with the losse of 25 or 30 sayle of their best ships, worsted their fleet, that they fledd, some one way, some another, as they might best save themselves.[1]

[1] This was the engagement off Lowestoft on 3 June, 1665, when the Dutch fleet was decisively defeated. The following narrative of it was given in a letter from the Company to Surat of 15 June following:

Toward the end of Aprill His Majesties fleete, comanded by His Royall Highnesse the Duke of Yorke, went over to the coast of Holland and anchored before Texell for a considerable time; but haveing ridd out there a greate stresse of weather and part of the fleete received some damage thereby and begining to want water and some provisions, they came over to our coast for repaire and suply. In the meane time the Dutch fleete from Holland and Zealand beeing joyned came forth and lay about the place where the English had formerly done; by which meanes one of the Kings shipps of 34 gunns and nine Hamburgers, coming from Hamburgh under his convoy, unhappily fell into the Dutch fleete, suposeing it to have beene His Majesties fleete, and were surprised by them; which accident, with the absence of the Kings fleete, did soe elevate and lift them up that they stood over with their fleete to the English coast, beeing about 110 saile of men of warr, 10 fireshipps, and many small vessells to attend them (as is suposed, expecting to find the Kings shipps unprepared), and came in sight of the Kings fleete the [ ] instant, lying at anchor in Sole Bay; upon which His Majesties fleete waighed, consisting of about 100 saile, and stood off to them, but could not come to ingage them till the 3d. in the morning, about three of the clock. At which time begann a very greate and bloody fight, and continued more or lesse for about twoe daies; in which engagement it pleased the Almightie to give His Majesties fleete a very greate victory over them, for in that fight their admirall Opdam and most of their flagg and other their best shipps, to the nomber of about 25, were sunck, burnt, and taken, and the rest (very much battered and shattered) persued by the Kings shipps and driven into severall of their ports, before which the Kings ships remayned for some time after. It is conceived that in this engagement there is destroyed and taken of the Dutch about 8,000 men; and on His Majesties part is lost one shipp, called the *Charity*, beeing an old leeward Flemish vessell, was seperated from the fleete and taken by the Dutch, allmost in the begining of the fighte. The nomber of men is computed to bee about 5 or 600. Persons of moste note that are slayne are the Earles of Marleburgh, Portland, and Falmouth, the Lord Muskery, and Mr. Boyle. The three last were slayne by one shott, close to His Royall Highnesse the Duke of Yorke, as they were discoursing togither, and yet it pleased God to preserve his person.

A short account of the engagement was given in a later letter (31 August, 1666) from the Company to Surat.

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The declaration referred to, dated 11 December, left nothing to be desired in its condemnation of this 'strange unparalleld mutiny', and called upon all loyal subjects of His Majesty to aid in restoring Foxcroft to his former position. A letter of 13 December, addressed to Proby and Chuseman, urged them to atone for their fault in the same manner and promised, in that event, to intercede with the Company for their pardon. The news of the mutiny was communicated to the Company in the Surat letter of 1 January, 1666, and the steps already taken were detailed. These included the inducing the French padres at Surat to write to their brethren at Madras, exhorting them to use their influence with their flock to foil Sir Edward's plans. This packet, being sent overland, did not arrive in London until January, 1667.

Meanwhile Foxcroft and Sambrook, though closely watched, had contrived to dispatch letters by various channels to Surat and other places. In the middle of November Winter found an opportunity of sending another packet to the Company. Simon Heaman, who had been a prisoner in the hands of the Moors for nine years (see the last volume, pp. 368, &c.), had been released and had reached Madras early in October. He was now bound for England, via Goa,[1] and to him Winter entrusted fresh letters, which were delivered by Heaman to the Company on 12 October, 1667. One of these, signed by Winter, Proby, Chuseman, and Stephen Charlton, and dated 15 November, forwarded further copies of all the papers relating to the change of government.[2] It also stated that news had been received that the *Greyhound* and *American* had reached Balasore in safety, and that it was hoped that the ships would get back safely to Madras, where their cargoes would be completed and they would be dispatched to England.

By the same conveyance Winter wrote personally to the Company (16 November), assuring them of his continued zeal for their interests and transmitting a detailed reply to their charges against him. Chuseman also put into the packet a letter (15 November), defending his actions and asking for an increase of salary.

On 20 November Sir Edward and his Council wrote yet another letter to the Company, sending it via Surat. In this they complained

[1] He reached Kārwār on 31 December (see the letter from thence of 1 January, 1666).

[2] These may have included *O.C.* 3161, which purports to expose an attempt on the part of Foxcroft, &c., to manufacture evidence against Winter and the two brokers.

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that Jearsey had stopped their previous letters to Oxenden via Golconda, by ordering ' one Mingham, a gunner in the service of the King ', to seize them. They assured the Company that ' nothinge of dammage will come to Your Worships affaires here ' through any action of theirs. A postscript gave the news that the *Greyhound* and her consort had

Gott over the Barr Ballasore, thereby escapeing the Dutch, which hotly persued after them. The storme which lately hapned upon the coast of Gingerlee and Point Palmeras have droven ashore and cast away (as wee heare) severall of their shipps; soe our hopes are that, the enemy having missed of their expectations, wee may see our shipps here in safetie againe.

There being no sign of the ships returning from Bengal that season, on 9 January, 1666, Winter and his Council addressed their promised letter to the Company,[1] replying in detail to that of 21 December, 1664. The packet was committed to the care of a ' French bishop '[2] who was travelling home by way of Surat and Aleppo. After the inevitable reference to Foxcroft's supersession, they explained their reasons for sending the two ships to Bengal. They deplored the ready acceptance at home of slanders against them, which they ascribed mainly to discontented captains. Private trade could not be repressed, and any undue severity would drive it into the hands of the Dutch or of the Moors. Referring to the power given to the Agent and Council to deal with refractory persons, the latter said that

Whither this extends to the Agent himselfe to do it onely with part of his Councill, the major part absent or dissenting, wee are yet in doubt. Another thing may be brought in question, and whereof wee may very well desire to be informed, whither the Agent, acting of his owne will without the advice and consent of his Councill, and doing things prejudiciall and to the ruine of Your Worships affaires, whither the Councill, joyneing together, may not disanull his power.

As regards the political situation the following report was made.

Wee have bin long in expectation that some sattisfaction would have bin given by the King of Gulquondah for those affronts and

[1] Fuller extracts will be found in Col. Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 245).

[2] The Bishop of Heliopolis, who was returning from his mission to Siam (see the previous volume, p. 270).

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injuryes done to our nation, and perticulerly to Sir Edward Winter in his owne person; but wee have bin put of with meere delayes, and our business hath rather bin hindered then any way forewarded. Yet openly they seeme not to do it so much as covertly. Indeed, the Dutch have much the advantage of us in that perticuler, by keepeing a constant residence at the court of Gulquondah, where at all tymes and upon all occasions they freely make theire sufferings knowne, nor are they backwards (as occasion offers) in large presents, both to the King and greate men of the court (which makes theire business run so smoothly without any interuption), whereas from the English they never receive any; which cannot but bee much hinderance to Your Worships affaires many tymes, and [wee] therefore conceive it very necessary, and much conduceable to your interest in these parts, to settle a residency there of two persons, who may at any time (as the occasion offers) have accesse to the court and find redress for such injuryes as may be offered; which by sending of peons, or persons in that nature, seldome find ought but delayes and excuses, which may be construed a flat denyall; they not sticking publiquely to say: What avayles it us to be any way mindfull of the English, when they are never so kind as to afford us any thing for our trouble? The charge, wee confess, will be some what extraordinary; and yet not so greate but that those priviledges [which] thereby may accrew will sufficiently countervaile, besides the makeing that a mart for your broadcloth, lead, etc. staple comodityes. . . . Yecknam Cawne's approaching the towne with his armey and his high demands did not a jott affright us; but hee was soone called away by his master to the court and since wee have heard no further of him. This wee must needs say, that this your Fort, for which you are annually at so much charges, serves for no other purpose then the security of our persons and your estates whilst wee are constantly abideing in it; for neither the greate strength, whatever wee can make, can any way offend the Moores, should they be our enemy; whilst they, onely with a few of theire servants and at a word of command, can stopp or prevent either releife or provisions from comeing neere us. And though the sea lye open and free to us, yet is but of little helpe, in regard you will not allow us vessayles to releive our necessities upon occasion. Indeede, it [i. e. the Fort] is somewhat a terrour to the Jentues [i. e. the Hindus]; but the Moores are a warlike people and make it a common saying that two peons will starve us to a composition. But now for honour's sake it must be maintained; which otherwise were better to be razed to the ground, you being at so vast and unnecessary a charge about it. Two shipps well man'd would more terrify the Moores then twenty forts, and augment our priviledges in what wee would desire our selves

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and procure full sattisfaction for past injuryes; but since Your Worships are so unwilling to heare of that way, our endeavours shall not be wanting to keepe the fairest and most amicable correspondency with them that may bee. And though the present danger of a Dutch warr and theire endeavouring to perswade the Moores against us, which makes us the more circumspect, yet still wee shall not be wanting, to the utmost of our power, fully to preserve those rights and priviledges which you have so dearely purchas'd, accompting the whole, and not the halfe, custome due unto you, you haveing so long enjoyed it; but some of late were very forewards to part with them, and so farr as to have permitted the residence of a Moore Governour in the towne, whenas your Fort then would be but of small consequence, either for the maintaineance of your priviledges or defence of your estate and our persons.

For further information about the voyage of the *Madras Merchant* to Siam, the Court was referred to Gifford and Buckeridge; and responsibility for Dearing's stay there was disclaimed, since he had been repeatedly ordered to return. An intention was expressed of sending a vessel to the Maldives, in accordance with the permission granted; and it was hoped that 'the same liberty will not be denyed us to all other places'. Edward Reade, it was stated, left the service upon the arrival of Buckeridge. Richard Clay, who had been employed ever since the last voyage of the *Mayflower* to the Coast, had requested a gratuity for the four years he had served at the small salary of 25 rials of eight. The writers noted the Court's approval of the sale of the *Anne*,

Which, after much cost and expence in voyadgeing to Arraccan to have made her a firme and serviceable shipp, she came over in February last unfitted, and laid her ribbs in Narzapor[1] sands, occasioned by the indiscretion of those that went upon her.

There were no vessels left on the Coast belonging to the Company, though Blake had some in Bengal. The death of Travers at Tuticorin ('about May last') and the seizure of Harrington were next mentioned.

This factory of Tutticorine is well worth the continuance, when pepper may be so easily procured as is affirmed it may, costing no

[1] Narsapur, on the Vasishta mouth of the Godāvari. The *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, (p. 186) says that the capital Winter sent in her to Arakan was appropriated by his brother's natural son.

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more (all charges included) then 25 ryalls a candy weight; but to oblige the natives to bring it hither by boate, there is no likelyhood of effecting it. And if that countrey cloth is suiteable and fitt for Europe marketts, then may the larger investments with the selfe same charge be made; and had not this accident of the Dutchs' surprizing this factory hapned, wee had ere now sent persons thither to looke after that place. But, as things are at present, there is no ventureing.

As regards the money spent on buildings at the Fort, it was hoped that Buckeridge had explained matters to the Company's satisfaction; while the outlay on peons' wages was due to the necessity of engaging extra men in view of the approach of Neknām Khān's forces. The reduction in the number of factories was perhaps inevitable, if the Company were unwilling to increase their supplies, but it was regrettable.

The Dutch have that for a maxime (and in our opinion a good one) that in whatsoever place they can have but lycence to settle any of theire people, they will be sure not to let it want money or goods, not so much for the proffitt that they gett, but to make theire names famous in these easterne parts; whilst wee strive and endeavour what wee can to lessen that little esteeme wee have yet amongst the natives, by removeing all residencyes; yet, so small as it is, it is more then the Dutches, let them doe what they can.

The decision as to which factories should be abolished in Bengal had been left to the Chief there. The orders regarding soldiers' and sailors' wages would be obeyed; but it would be well in future to inform each soldier on engagement that he would only receive half his pay while in India. They were continually clamouring for the whole, and there was always a fear that they would either mutiny or desert.[1] If their wives and families were sent out with them, it would be an inducement to be frugal; and then

In a few lusters[2] of yeares your towne might be populous with a brood of our owne, and not a mixt nation, and such who by theire industry might get a better livelyhood then commonly your private souldiers doe; and many such, wee beleeve, may be found that would gladly accept of some certaine assureance of so much monethly to bee allowed them, besides ground to build on; and if

[1] This topic had already been touched upon in the letter to the Company of 30 September; see the extract in Col. Love's *Vestiges* (vol. i. p. 244).

[2] Lustre or lustrum, a period of five years.

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handicraftsmen, if ingenious and willing, might also advantage themselves by their industry; and more trust may be given to such then to others, who upon the least misdemeanour will hazard theire libertyes by running to the Moores [rather] then to undergo any punishment.

Gifford could not benefit by the Company's liberality, as he had gone home; but the occasion was taken to suggest that the Second at Madras ought to be given the same salary as the Second at Surat, whence fewer ships were sent to England. Particulars were forwarded concerning the dispute between Jearsey and Johnson.

The present sent from hence to our Kings Majestie, carryed by Mr. James Bunce [see p. 111], being recommended to the perticuler care of Sir Edward Winter, hee thought it too small a trifle to trouble Your Worships withall.

The letter went on to refer to the efforts already made to secure the release of the English captives in Ceylon.

But still wee are behoulding to our Dutch friends, who make it theire study to prevent us. And [wee] had verily thought wee should have this yeare compassed theire liberty, and that by meanes of an Englishman, James Sheppard by name, who comeing out of theire service poore and naked (the better to cover his mischeivous designe) wee clothed, putting him into a handsome equipage; who haveing the language of that island and proffering himselfe soe ready to undertake the procurement of theire liberty, wee thought him a fitt instrument to endeavour theire enlargement. But hee had not bin long gone from us, when wee heard of his going to the Dutch factory of Tutticorine, delivering our packquet of letters (which wee had given him for the King of Candy) to the Dutch Chiefe, and then embarques himselfe for Columba;[1] and since wee have heard no further of him. His treachery justly deserves severe punishment. Truly wee must needes commiserate our captivated countreymens condition, whose releasement wee shall not bee unmindfull of, but endeavour, if possible, to effect it. There is yet 26 of them alive (as wee understand by Mr. Vassayles letter), and, as they write us, they had greate hopes of haveing theire liberty graunted them by the King, but upon a civill dissention of the sonns breakeing out against the Emperour his

[1] See an extract from the *Dagh-Register, Batavia,* 1665 (p. 369), quoted by Mr. D. W. Ferguson in his *Captain Robert Knox,* p. 61. The same Dutch letter (*ibid.,* p. 368) refers to efforts made by Foxcroft to get into touch with the King of Kandy.

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father,[1] they were all closely secured, for feare of riseing against him. The King had heard of the presents that were sent him, but admires that wee should suffer the Dutch to hinder theire comeing to him. Indeede, the many outrages and insolences they committ on this Coast lessens the esteeme of the English very much, when wee sit so quietly under such exorbitant abuses.

Information as to William Daniel's estate had already been sent home. Precautions would be taken against any attempts of the Dutch; they were trying to set the Moors against the English, but were not likely to succeed. As regards the hot-pressing of broadcloth, no opinion could be given until specimens were supplied which could be shown to the merchants. Since Foxcroft's arrival the amount received for customs at Madras, which formerly came to 2,000 pagodas per annum, had dwindled to a pagoda a day or less. This might be due, either to Dawes being substituted for Timmanna as Judge of the Choultry, or to the imprisonment of the latter. Certainly the influence of Timmanna was very great, and his friendship with the Moorish Governors had been of much use. No just cause for his imprisonment had been found. The accusation against him of poisoning A Court 'was presently cleared by English testimonies', and the charges of defrauding the Company had not been proved. It was probable that he had bought calicoes at lower rates than those at which he had contracted to supply them to the Company; but for this he could scarcely be blamed. His imprisonment had much hindered the investment, as many of the principal merchants thereupon refused to contract. Timmanna had declared his readiness to make satisfaction, if anything were proved against him.

Wee have caused the drum to be beaten, that whosoever could alleadge any thing to his charge in that nature and make it good, that hee should bee readily and willingly heard, and the other give sattisfaction; but, alas, whereas wee expected many to appeare against them with accusations, wee found the contrary, and most of the inhabitants pleadeing on theire behalfes, who at the same tyme demaunded justice of such miscreant rascalls as those that had given such falce information against him; which elce would cause them totally to desert and leave the towne.

[1] See *Hague Transcripts*, ser. i. vol. xxviii. no. 732, which also mentions the English overtures to the King.

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English goods were practically unsaleable, and no more should be sent until further notice. Had some alum been supplied, it would have fetched double the price it did the previous year. Simon Heaman had gone home via Goa and Lisbon.

Wee heare, since his departure, that some English are imprisoned at Gulquondah for his comeing thence without his lycence of the greate men who freed him from the castle where he had remained so many yeares a prisoner, [and] expected he should first have given them notice of his intentions of leaveing that place (which indeed was both requisite and convenient), Christopher Wilkins, formerly gunner of Fort St. George, being security for his appeareance; who, upon his goeing away, was sent after him as farr as Metchlepatam, and, returneing back without him, is there confined and kept prisoner in the camp. He writes he is likely there to continue till some money, which Mr. Heaman was formerly engaged to pay, should be sattisfyed; soe that, for his releasement, wee feare wee may be forced to sattisfy that debt.

It would be well, therefore, if the Company would take security from Heaman to repay the money, if required. Madras could not be expected to prosper, unless sufficient stock were sent out to employ the weavers and encourage trade. The local merchants had been scared by the imprisonment of Timmanna and were not likely to venture their money to keep the weavers at work; nor was Winter himself inclined to do so while his employers were so ready to listen to slanders against him. The ordinary paper received of late had proved very bad, but 'Your Dutch, post, and horne paper [1] wee finde good'. A further supply of suitable paper was requested. December was found to be a bad month to lade ships at Madras, owing to the high surf; while, if the vessels were to start in January or February, they might not be able to get round the Cape that season. If they could arrive from England in March, they might be dispatched again in September or October, and so get home in the spring. With regard to the agreement between Buckeridge and Chamber for the latter to deposit 10,000*l.* in the Company's cash before going to England, all that could be found at Madras was a copy of a letter from Masulipatam, saying that Jearsey had promised to pay into the cash 6,439 old pagodas by

[1] Paper having a post-horn as a watermark. The letter itself is written on paper bearing that device.

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31 January, 1665; there was, however, no trace of any such sum having been brought to the Company's credit. Dearing had not returned from Siam, but it was hoped that he would render a fair account of what had been entrusted to him. The return of the *American* and *Greyhound* from Bengal had been daily expected;

But the entrance of this new yeare brought us the unwellcome newes not onely of the death [of] the two commanders but of so greate a number of theire seamen that tis thought there are not enough remaineing to manad[g]e one shipp; and the Dutch are so numerous, consisting of upwards of twenty sayle, that, were they never so well man'd, yet durst they not venture over the barr to sea. And the lateness of the yeare begins now to come on; [so that] they will hazard much theire gaineing aboute the Cape, should they come up. Besides, wee are of opinion the Dutch shipps will not be ordered to leave the Bay till such time as they have impeeded and obstructed theire designe of returneing to this place, or for theire departeing for England directly from that place; which may bee time enough from thence, though in March.

This letter reached the hands of the Company on 13 April, 1667.

THE FACTORIES IN BENGAL, 1665

Of the English settlements in this part of India William Blake was still in charge, under the general superintendence of the Agent at Madras; and Shem Bridges was his Second. Besides these two, the staff at Hūgli and Balasore included Robert Elwes, Matthias Vincent, and apparently Thomas Stiles and Gabriel Townsend; Job Charnock was at Patna, accompanied by Francis Minshull and Thomas Haselwood; while Henry Powell, assisted by John March, was responsible for the factory at Kāsimbāzār.

The earliest 1665 letter available in any form is one of 24 April addressed to Madras, of which an abstract is given among Sambrook's papers (*O.C.* 3052). This reported that a quantity of saltpetre had been collected at Patna.

Mr. Charnock as yet findeth noe stop in said investment; only complaines much for want of monies and fine cloth for presents, in that there is a new Nabob come to that place, Laskar Caun.[1]

[1] Lashkar Khān, whose appointment as Governor of Bihār is mentioned by Bernier.

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Pray God send our Nabob[1] doth not stop our saltpeeter, as hee did the last yeare. They advise also that the receipt for the 3000 rupees as a present was forced from them by the Kings Governour, pretending to recover it from Malleck Beague [Malik Beg], as not belonging to him but to the said Governour.

The Hūgli factors had asked for a supply of lead, vermilion, and broadcloth, as well as 4,000*l.* in gold ingots.

Next in order comes a letter from Kāsimbāzār to Hūgli, dated 30 June. In this Powell complained of the outrageous behaviour of John March, which had given rise to complaints from all quarters and had led some to think that he had been 'poysoned by the natives'. However, he had gone off to Dacca, in spite of all efforts to dissuade him. The story is continued in a letter from Thomas Pratt (see the preceding volume, pp. 294, 393) at Dacca, dated 24 July, declaring that March had become 'an absolute mad man'.

> So that yesterday I was forced to keepe him shut up in a chamber. Theare is a Gentew that lives some two daies jurny from this place, who, they say, is an excellent fellow to cure such deseases. I have sent for him. God grant he may cure him. Otherwise I must get somebody to come downe with him; for to send peones is as good as noboddy, and to keepe him heere I cannot.[2]

Mention has already been made of the dispatch of the *Greyhound* and the *American* from the Coast and of their arrival at Balasore on 17 August. They brought a letter from the Company, dated 21 December, 1664 (*Letter Books*, vol. iii. p. 456), warning the Bengal factors of the probability of a war with Holland, and giving directions for the speedy relading and dispatch of the ships. The Committees then proceeded to answer the letters from Bengal of 9 November, 1,[3] 10, and 15 December, 1663. Note was taken of the fact that at Blake's arrival he found the factors in debt to the extent of about 60,000 rupees and that they were forced to pay a sum of money due to Mīr Jumla in Kāsimbāzār from Trevisa. Complaint was made of the dearness of the Bengal goods last received, and a hint was given that, unless these could be procured at better rates, the Company would be 'totally disheartned to continue any factories in that place'. Any English commodities

[1] Shāista Khān, Nawāb of Bengal and Orissa.

[2] March seems to have reached Hūgli by the following November (see *O.C.* 3139).

[3] See the preceding volume, p. 294. The other three letters are not extant.

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remaining on hand should be sold off at such prices as they would fetch. Shipowners were very averse from engaging that their vessels should go ' into the river of Gangees ', though they made no demur to the article which the Company regularly inserted in the charter-party, requiring the ships to

Saile up the River of Hughly over the Barr of Gangees, and as neare to Hughly (without too eminent danger) as they may or can with safety, and as the Companies factors shall direct. . . . And to any further obligation wee cannot get them to subscribe.

As for the building of boats to carry down goods to the ships, resolution was suspended until the receipt of further information; but the factors were forbidden to build any more without the express permission of the Company.

For the sending unto you any dyers, throwsters, or weavers (according to your desires) to instruct the people in makeing and workeing of taffataies, as things now stand, and till better encouragment, wee shall forbeare it; but hereafter, if find it necessary, shall take it into our considerations.

The question of continuing or dissolving the factories at Balasore and elsewhere had been left to the decision of the Agent and Council at Madras. To a suggestion that a ship should be sent direct from England to Bengal, reply was made that it was impossible that year, but the idea would be borne in mind. Blake had been granted at his departure permission to spend, if necessary, up to a limit of 1,000 rials of eight in building at Hūgli.

Wee perceive that hee had begunn to build a new house and warehouses, and that our allowance of 1000 rials will not finish them. However, wee shall not allow of any further expence in building . . . and shall expect sattisfaction from Mr. Blake for what hee shall have exceeded our comission.

The 1,500 and odd rupees spent by Sheldon in building at Kāsimbāzār would also be disallowed, unless the Committees could be satisfied that the outlay was desirable. Reference was made to some patterns supplied by the factors of calicoes procurable at Dacca, ' to the vallue of about 10,000*l.* yearely '. Some of these seemed suitable for the London market and further consideration would be given to the matter. Information was requested whether broadcloth and other English goods would be likely to sell at

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Dacca. A hope was expressed that the factors had succeeded in freeing themselves from the obligation to give a yearly present of 3,000 rupees; also that they had reduced other expenses as much as possible. On reconsideration, the entertainment of Powell as a factor at 30*l.* per annum was sanctioned, and a gratuity for his previous service was promised. At the request of John Lethieullier, the Company had agreed that if his friend, Jan Velters,[1] paid 20 or 25,000 rupees into their cash at Hügli or Patna, the Bengal factors should draw bills of exchange upon the Company for the amount, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per rupee, taking care that the money should be 'all of the best and finest sort of rupees', it being understood that three sorts were current in Bengal. The letter concluded with a further reference to the impending war, and to the measures to be taken to secure the Company's estate. A postscript required information about the effects of William Marshall, who died at Hügli. John Evans was to be assisted in looking after that estate.

As previously noted, the Company had by the same ships required the Agent and Council at Fort St. George to inquire into certain charges made against Blake. These are detailed at p. 464 of the same volume. They consisted of allegations that he had excluded Sheldon from consultation while at Hügli: that he had refused to supply the Patna factory with money, but sent up goods instead, bought with the Company's cash, intending to appropriate for himself any profit resulting from their sale: that he took some lead from Captain Mitchell, paying him only the prime cost in England: that 'every one in the Bay strives to cheate most, and Cassambazar factory complaines for want of mony, the silck-weavers begining to leave them': that while at Madras Blake and Winter had acted as they pleased, without consulting their colleagues. Blake's reply will be noticed later.

The hostilities with the Dutch naturally made the captains of the *Greyhound* and *American* nervous lest they should be attacked if they lay in the open road at Balasore. A correspondence (*O.C.* 3065, 3066) ensued between them and Shem Bridges, who had been sent down from Hügli to take charge of the operations at that port. He was about to dispatch the *Good Intent* and other

[1] A Dutch factor in Bengal. This was evidently a contrivance on his part for getting money remitted to Europe without the knowledge of his employers.

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local vessels to Hūgli to fetch down goods, and he desired Captains Browning and Eastgate to lend sailors for those vessels, and further to take out the two ships to convoy them into the Hūgli River. The two captains objected to both requirements, alleging that to spare any men would weaken their crews, that no pilot was available to carry the ships over the bar into the Hūgli River, and that, if there were, they would have so far to lighten each vessel that they must as a counterpoise put the guns into the hold—a course not to be thought of, in view of the danger from the Dutch. They had resolved instead to take both vessels into either the Balasore River or the 'Paunch Paro' River,[1] preferably the latter. To this course Bridges objected, warning them that the latter was 'an unhealthfull, sickly place, destitute both of good water and provisions', and infested with mosquitoes. He urged that the two ships should at least convoy his vessels as far as the Braces and then return; but the captains refused to agree, lest the Dutch should attack them, and insisted on taking refuge in Balasore River. This, however, could not be done until the next spring-tide, and before that time they were attacked by the Dutch, as will be related presently.

On 1 September Blake and Elwes addressed a letter to Madras, replying to one brought by the ships. They expressed great regret that the stock sent to Bengal was so small, but promised to do their best to lade both ships to their full capacity, for which purpose they already had in hand a good stock of saltpetre. One hindrance to the speedy lading of the ships was the fact that the boats built the previous year at Hūgli had been commandeered by the Governor to fetch 'the Nabobs salt for this place' from Hijili. They had written to Pratt at Dacca to complain, but did not expect much satisfaction. The Nawāb's *parwāna* already obtained

Forbid all persons from medling with ours or hired boats; but his commands [are] little vallewed, when the partye finds the not keeping them turnes to his masters advantadge. We doe not heare as yet of any miscarriadg befallen the boats; if well, expect them in few daies. Without the use of said [boats we] shall not be able to procure transport for our goods from hence. They will carry neere 300 tonns. Formerly boats might have been procured here

[1] The Punchparah River runs out into the Bay about five miles north-east of the mouth of the Burhābalang (or Balasore) River.

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on freight; now few or none, arrising from the ill goverment of this place.

If the ships from England would come into the Hūgli River, these difficulties would largely disappear. Velters had been acquainted with the Company's orders, and had promised to pay in a large sum shortly; this would be of considerable assistance. As for reducing the factories in Bengal, those at Patna and Kāsimbāzār could not be given up without losing the trade in saltpetre and taffetas. For each of these commodities advances must be continually made beforehand, and the goods came dribbling in all the year. To send factors to these places for a few months only would not suffice; nor would it be safe to reckon on purchasing supplies at Hūgli, as there would be no certainty of getting the necessary quantities, while the price would be very high. The quality of the saltpetre sent home had been much improved of late.

What (God willing) [we] shall this yeare send up [will be] the best that has gone from these parts, of twise boyled, occationed by the convenience of a warehouse which Mr. Charnock has built on the river side neere our petre men, that now he vewes all they bring in; if bad, returnes it to be by them boyled over againe. Also, the whole yeare they may be bringing it in by water. So that now, if [we] had monyes, 1000 tonns might easily yearly be procured.

Taffetas, too, had much improved in quality, and a larger investment might be made. Patna and Kāsimbāzār would need a staff of three at least at each place, and the Chief should be a person of experience and of a quality to command respect among the Moors. As for Hūgli itself, there was little local trade, 'by reason of the great coustume paid in the way', which made Indian products very dear and discouraged merchants from buying imported goods; still, the factory served as a central warehouse, and the staff was busy with correspondence and accounts. Balasore factory sold most of the Europe goods, and moreover provided stick lac, cotton yarn, coloured ginghams, sannoes, cowries, &c. An experienced factor must be in charge there during the shipping season, but he might then return to Hūgli, leaving, however, some one there in charge, since to have the factory empty at any time 'would discontent the Nabob of Orixia [Orissa] and the Governer of Ballasore'.

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As the whole of the remaining stock would be used in lading the ships, permission was solicited to borrow about 40,000 rupees to keep investments going.

Wee formerly advized that we had discharged Mr. Pratt out of an imployment which Mr. Travisa gave him at Dacca and we for some time had continewed him in, untill his neglects in the Companies affaires. We kept him out of sallary above twelve months, hoping to have eased our masters of that charge; but having no other person at pressent so fitting to mannidge our complaints at court, and finding the Nabob much distasted, in that this person is verry assisting to him, and (as by advices) orders were issued out to demand custome of the English since his goverment; at same time it hapned we had receivd sundry abuses from his governers, and fearing a gennerall stopp to the Companies bussines, the ceizing our saltpeter, and molesting said investments (as he did the last yeare to our masters great prejudice). We have therefore entertayned him about June last, giving him what allowance he received formerly; he first by his letter promising faithfully and with care to mannidge what we should hereafter recommend to him.[1] We at that time considering the necessity of procuring remedies for the many abuses and stopps in our bussiness, and that the said could not be obteyned from this covetious Nabob without sending him a pressent, and something for his cheife servants; so that we procured severall things we conceived propper, to the amount of 2000 rupees and upwards, and sent them to Mr. Pratt; which he hath since advized that the Nabob seemed well content with, and promised that we should not be molested, and at that time gave his perwanna on all governers; which [we] hope will be advantagious and sufficient to carry on this yeares bussiness, in that our saltpetre boats came hither without any stop. The last yeare, by cleering of said by Mr. Powell, [as] then advized, cost neere 3,000 rupees.

With respect to the charges made against him from England, Blake returned a specific denial to each item. The Balasore factors had just sent on a letter from Masulipatam, dated 12 August, advising that three Dutch men of war had that day arrived and had seized a vessel belonging to the English factors, with 'two of Guzzeratt men depending on the English';[2] also that these Dutch ships might shortly be expected in Bengal waters. This

[1] Tavernier, when he visited Dacca at the beginning of 1666, found Pratt acting as Chief of the English (*Voyages*, Ball's ed., vol. i. p. 131).

[2] See the *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, p. 330, and *Hague Transcripts*, ser. i. vol. xxviii. no. 732.

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occasioned fears for the safety of the *American* and the *Greyhound*, though it was hoped that, if seized in Balasore Road, the Emperor or the Nawāb would force the Dutch to make restitution. In view of the danger to the ships if they endeavoured to return to the Coast, it would perhaps be safer to dispatch them direct to England, and orders on the point were solicited. An urgent appeal would be made to the Nawāb to protect the English vessels.

Blake lost no time in this emergency. A letter to Balasore of 3 September stated that on the previous day he had visited Mīrza Malik Beg, the Governor of Hūgli, to desire his protection of the two English ships.

Who then declared in the open durbarr, making all persons wittnesses, that he stood enjaged in the Kinge and Nabobs behalfe to secure us from any dammidges that may insue to our shipps etc. and estates aboard them from any attempt of the Dutch, either in Ballasore Road or comming hither. He went at that instant to the Dutch factory, when [he] acquainted them with the premises, as standing enjaged, causing it to be rejestred, so taking sufficient wittness of their reply, which was that they stood enjaged to comply with his requires and to make doble sattisfaction of what we should suffer through their meanes. . . . Mallabeeg came this morning to the factory about what written, the better to sattisfie us. . . . We have written to Mr. Pratt for him to acquaint the Nabob with what needfull. The Governor also hath written, causing a wackca [1] to to be made of the premises. He and all declares that, according to coustome of these countryes, the Kinge is bound to make us sattisfaction, in case the Dutch should doe us any dammidge in the mentioned cases.

Blake and Elwes were so confident upon these assurances that they thought that Bridges might safely dispatch the goods to Hūgli in the sloop, &c., whether the two ships accompanied them or not, and they gave instructions accordingly.

The letter of 1 September had been sent to Balasore, for Bridges to add his signature before dispatching it to Madras. He preferred, however, to forward it as received, giving his reasons in a separate letter (9 September). He dissented altogether from the proposal that the factor in charge should journey to and fro between Balasore and Hūgli, as the cost of travelling, &c., would counterbalance any saving effected thereby. Moreover, the risk to health involved in

[1] Hind. *wāki'a*, 'an occurrence', and hence a record of it.

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such journeys was great during the rainy seasons, and he, for one, was unwilling to repeat the experience. His contracted period of service was on the point of expiring, and he should have resigned but for the change of government at Madras, in view of which he held it his duty ' not through disgust abruptly to desert my imployment, but to expect a remedy '. He had put up with many slights from Blake, but could bear them no longer. He must therefore demand the confirmation of his position as Second in the Bay, with a fixed residence at either Hūgli or Balasore; and further that Blake should be ordered to show him proper respect, instead of treating him as ' noebody at home nor nothing abroad, because he might appeare, despot-like, sole and absolute '. Bridges intended to dispatch the sloop, &c., to Hūgli as soon as possible, but he agreed with the commander that it would be best not to hazard the *Greyhound* and the *American* thither, but to bring them into Balasore River. No customer had yet been found for the gold brought by the former vessel.

It is a commodity only propper for and bought by the great men in this country to make jewells or utensills; little being made into quoine (which rises and falls verry much, but does not soe in silver). The people of this country doe not so well understand to refine it as at the Coast; by which means course gould sells to loss disproportianable to what allowed in invoyce. Therefore, if, when Your Worships send any downe hither, you could have time to refine it to 10 matt, it would advance and hasten the saile.

The next letter from Balasore to Madras, dated 20 September, gave the unwelcome intelligence that the Dutch fleet had arrived and had forthwith attacked the English vessels. The *Good Intent*, *Madras* pinnace, and a hired vessel were lying outside the bar, taking in goods from boats.

On the 14th current, towards night, came in three Dutch ships[1] (two whereof tis thought carry 50 gunns apeece) and a catch [i. e. ketch]. At which time also the *Greyhound* and *American* were prepared to come into the river the next day, their gunns for the most part being struck into the hold to make them saylefast. But our ships and vessails aforesaid, being conscious of their owne insufficiency and weaknesse to fight, and perceiving the Dutch resolv'd to make an attempt upon them, by their hanging out first

[1] For their names, &c., see *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, p. 374.

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a white antient, lying by the lee, their boates passing too and from the admirall to consult, and then putting out their owne colours and standing directly with our ships, they all cutt and stood in for the shoare; which the enemy perceiving, putt abroad his bloody colours and immediately from the admirall lett fly five gunns upon us. Soe all made what sayle they could and stood in after our vessails, still plying their gunns upon us, untill they came into 2½ fathom water or lesse, that to our imagination both the admirall and vice admirall struck; soe that they were constrain'd to stand off into deeper water again, having forc't all our ships and vessails aground at low water, and came to an anchor (night withall drawing on) about 1½ myles without our ships. S[hem] B[ridges] . . . presently laid the channell with boates, dispatch't off the pilots for those vessails that wanted, and sent off an order to them all to come in that night; having for that purpose beacon'd the barrs channell. Soe that . . . about midnight we gott them all safe in, excepting the *Madrass* pinnace; the Dutch not having the opportunity to impeade them (though one of their ships weigh'd and stood in, but could not fetch up ours), being they had soe little warning of their coming in, the beacons not being fired till past three quarter flood.

The *Madras* struck in getting over the bar and sustained some damage, necessitating her repair. The others were waiting at the Bar Town for further orders from Hūgli. The Dutch remained in the road until the following evening, busied apparently in recovering the anchors and cables slipped by the English. They then stood away for Pippli, but, as their arrival in that road had not been reported, it was supposed they had gone elsewhere. On 9 September seven Dutch ships from Batavia had passed by Balasore Road, and five more were expected. The squadron that attacked the English had come, it was believed, from Ceylon. The Dutch would probably have to pay a large sum to the 'Vice Roy of Bengall and Orixia' in consequence of this outrage; but even if some compensation were awarded to the English, it would hardly make up for the loss they would sustain by being unable to dispatch the ships for England that season.

Advice of what had happened was at once sent to Hūgli, where Blake promptly complained to the Governor and the Nawāb. The Dutch factors stoutly maintained that the commander of their ships must have acted against his commission, as they themselves had received orders to the contrary from Batavia; and they

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promised the English a declaration to that effect, assuring them that they had sent such instructions to Pippli that a recurrence of hostilities was not to be feared. The promised document, however, was found on receipt to be ' insolent and rediculous, a pass for our vessayles to this place to bring up the Nabobs goods, provided wee carryed their or the Moores coulours '. Blake then drafted a fresh engagement and required the Dutch to sign it; but they refused, alleging that they had since learnt that the commander of the fleet had received orders from Batavia to attack all English vessels. Thereupon a fresh appeal was sent to Dacca; but, as Blake and Elwes wrote to Balasore on 24 September,

What the Nabob may order in the premises [we] know not. . . . The Dutch, as wee are informed, have granted the Nabob six shipps, with men and munition, to assist him in his warrs against Aracan; which wee feare will hinder much our obteyning of justice, if not a full stopp to it. . . . This Governor, Merja Malleak-beeg, this morning sent for the Dutch Cheife etc. and W[illiam] B[lake] to the durbarr, where our differences with the Dutch were againe debated, [and] at last concluded, hee takeing from them and us interchangeable writeings and Companies seals and our signes, whereby to prevent the like in the future. A copy of theirs in Persia[n] herewith remitt you.

On the strength of this agreement the Hūgli factors ordered Bridges to send up the sloop, &c., with the desired goods.

An English version[1] of the undertaking given by the Dutch Directeur (Arnoldus van Wachtendonck) forms *O.C.* 3095. It pledged the Dutch to refrain from attacking English vessels plying between Hūgli and Balasore, and promised, in case of any breach of this engagement, to make satisfaction for any loss thus incurred.

An account of the naval action, contained in a letter from the Hūgli factors to Surat on 21 October, adds no fresh detail, except that no lives were lost. It mentions that Balasore was part of Shāista Khān's *jāgīr*, and takes occasion to lament that the Company had vetoed the appointment of a resident at Delhi or any further effort to obtain an imperial *farmān* for English trade in Bengal; this, it says, would have saved much expense ' in bribing the Nabob or his officers, which swarme in every government '.

[1] The Dutch text will be found in *Hague Transcripts* (at I.O.), ser. i. vol. xxvii. no. 721. The Governor-General and Council at Batavia in July, 1666, disapproved of the agreement and ordered it to be cancelled (*Dagh-Register*, 1666–7, p. 118).

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With this letter to Surat went one of the same date addressed to the Company, of which three paragraphs have survived, owing to their having been copied into what is now the third volume of the *Miscellaneous* section of the *Factory Records*. The first advised that the troubles caused at Kāsimbāzār by the disputes over the account between Trevisa and Mīr Jumla had been satisfactorily settled. The other two contain the following:

The sending us out throsters and weavers, to which Your Worships answers [see p. 136] that you will take it into consideration; all that wee shall presume to say further [is] that they would much advantage your Cassnabazar investments, to the bettering your taffaties. . . . Your Worships order us to advise what quantaties of Europe goods Dacca may yearely vend. According to our best informations, if the residence of some other Nabob then this were theire, who is most covetuous, it would finde sale for large parcells of ditto; the advance of which sailes [would] more then defray the charges of a factory, supplied with four persons, to make your investments and negotiate bussines at court. The Dutch make greate investments yearely in places theire adjacent.

Whatever the Dutch might be forced to promise regarding abstention from warlike operations in Indian waters, there was nothing to prevent them from following the English vessels and capturing them upon the high seas. On 26 September the Hūgli factors wrote to Madras, expressing their fears that such would be the consequence of any attempt to dispatch the ships to the Coast or to England and requesting instructions as to the course to be pursued.

On 3 October Bridges sent the captain of the *American* a formal protest against his non-compliance with the charter-party as regards his taking his vessel into the Hūgli River. From a Balasore letter of the same date we learn that the *Madras* was being dispatched to Hūgli with some broadcloth and lead, and that her consorts were to follow when they could get over the bar. Two protests (12 and 13 December) by the factors against the commanders of the *Greyhound* and *American* show that the undertaking was faithfully kept by the Dutch and that the sloop, &c., were able to bring down to Balasore saltpetre and other goods to lade aboard the two ships. From the same documents it is clear that Bridges had been joined by Blake, Powell, Stiles, and Townshend, and that several changes

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had taken place in the command of the vessels (see also p. 134). Eastgate, the commander of the *American*, had died some time before 26 October, and had been succeeded by James Mockeld; he in turn deceased about the beginning of December, and then Thomas Ball took charge of the ship. Aboard the *Greyhound* Captain Browning had succumbed (also his chief mate) at the beginning of November, leaving the command to be assumed by Samuel Pruson; in his turn Pruson died on 8 January, 1666, when John Vincent became captain. Both protests were made because the ships had not gone out into the road, according to order; and we may infer that the commanders were still mistrustful of the intentions of the Dutch and therefore would not leave the shelter of the river.

By this time Blake and his colleagues were no longer expecting orders from Fort St. George. The news of the revolution at that place had been dispatched to Hūgli in October by the Masulipatam factors, who, in a subsequent letter of 1 November, warned the Bengal factors not to attempt to send the two ships back to the Coast, as they would certainly be captured by the Dutch. They appear also to have suggested that Blake, having been appointed by the Company Second to Foxcroft, was now the legitimate head of the Agency, and that, if he went to Madras and claimed his rights, the Fort might be surrendered to him; while, if he were refused admission, the rebels would be left without excuse. Replying from Balasore on 26 December, Blake, Bridges, and Powell expressed the opinion that there was no likelihood of any such submission. As, however, Blake's presence at Masulipatam, to concert measures against Winter, might be advantageous, he would proceed thither should an opportunity present itself, though this was hardly to be expected for the present. Meanwhile, the writers declared Jearsey to be next in succession to Blake. They had intended to dispatch the *Greyhound* and *American* to England direct, but this was now impossible, owing to the great mortality among the officers and seamen. Should the expected ship arrive from England, she should come at once to the Bay, where the factors hoped to be able to lade and dispatch her home again before the coming of any Dutch vessels. If there were any English sailors available at Masulipatam, they should be sent to Balasore

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to help man the two ships there and get them away for England; and for this purpose the bearer of the letter, Benjamin Brond, was coming in a small vessel bound for that port. In the same packet were included declarations by the Bengal factors against Proby and Chuseman, denouncing their conduct and calling upon them, if unwilling to recognize Foxcroft as Agent, in view of the charges made against him, to receive Jearsey (in Blake's absence) as their 'Director in Cheife' and to obey the commands of him and his Council. Letters were also forwarded for delivery to the captains of any incoming ships, ordering them to proceed straight to Balasore.

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1666

THE opening of the year found Oxenden and his Council much disturbed by fears for the safety of the two vessels from England, of which one, the *St. George*, had sheltered at Diu, and the other, the *African*, was lying in the Tāpti, while outside the bar two Dutch ships were watching for her to put to sea. The English had importuned the Governor of Surat to forbid hostilities on any part of the coast between Swally and Damān; but he continually put them off with promises, and at a consultation held on 11 January it was decided to make no further application, and to leave the *African* where she was for the time being. As regards the *St. George*, orders were sent on 14 January to Taylor at Diu to embark most of her goods in Portuguese and Indian vessels and carry them to Broach with as much secrecy as possible; while the ship herself might be hired out to the Portuguese, if they were inclined to employ her in a voyage to Mokha or elsewhere.

On 17 February a letter was dispatched to the Company via Aleppo, reporting the position of affairs. News had come that Taylor had succeeded in bringing the cargo of the *St. George* to Broach, and hopes were entertained of its speedy sale.

In the Dutch ships came a Commissary[1] in greate state, who, in the time of his aboade here, took place of this Commandore, and came to this towne attended with a file of musquetiers of their owne nation, that waited upon him whereever he went. The ships were

[1] Huibert de Laress (see *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, pp. 190, 270, &c.).

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richly laden with severall sortes of merchandize, which the Commissary, according to order from Batavia, sould off in a lump togeather to Hodjee Zaied Beague, baulking their former merchantt Virjee Vorah, who usually was their customer; and this was occasion'd by the said Hodjee Zaieds acquainting the Gennerall of Batavia of the abuse putt on him the last yeare, who, notwithstanding he profferr'd more then Virjee Vorah, was not sufferr'd to have the bargaine, the Dutch Commandore and Virjee Vorah better understanding one another. The goods now brought are sould to the said Hodjee at the following prices. . . . These goods thus agreed for (all but the cinnamon, which they hold at soe greate a rate . . . that none will venture to deale for it and soe it remaynes on their hands), and having lustily bribed this Governor with a greate present and thereby taking him off from showing us any favour . . . the said Commissary returnes and ships himselfe for Persia. . . . whither he is gone to be Cheife.

The ' very great present ' he carried for the King of Persia included two elephants from Batavia, ' to lett them know they are masters of the South Seas '. The object of this liberality was understood to be the procurement of redress for certain abuses at Gombroon and Ispahān; but doubtless the Dutch would lose no opportunity of ' villifying and undervaluing of our nation, taking the advantage of our low and meane condition '.

Indico is much fallen in price. . . . The late scarcity and high price produced this commodity from Decan and other parts where it hath not been knowne to have been brought before; which now, since the price is fallen, is become soe very cheap that they are loosers by it. Soe that, it appearing very good, we are resolved to venture on a small quantity of it for a sample, that, if it be liked and approoved of in Europe, we may seek to supply you with a quantity yearly, and sett other countrys at worke and not depend wholy on Agra and Ahmadavad.

The letter next narrated the efforts made to induce the Governor to forbid any hostilities between the English and the Dutch ' in this Kings ports '. After much delay he sent a message that he had received an assurance from the Hollanders, through their broker, that they would make no attack upon the English while in the road, though they held themselves at liberty to do so at sea. In reply he was told that ' the word of a broker was not sufficient ', and was asked to require the Dutch either to give the assurance in writing or to ' passe the obligation publikly ', in which case the

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English would give a similar undertaking. He promised to comply with the request, but had not done so at the time of writing. It was hoped to find some opportunity of getting the *St. George* over to Surat, and then to dispatch her and the *African* about the middle of August, 'before any Dutch ship can come upon the coast'.

A month later another opportunity occurred of sending a letter to the Company (16 March). This opened with an account of the sale of the goods received from the *St. George*, and then went on to deal with the cargoes that were being provided for the two vessels. A narrative followed of the trouble caused by Cooke's seizure of a vessel belonging to Surat (described later). Requests were preferred for a supply of superfine broadcloth, satins, and swordblades for presents. In conclusion the writers say:

> Our thoughts are much depressed, when we reflect on the generall frame of your trade, how sensibly it groans under soe many severe stormes of open implacable enemies, inward divisions, and as dangerous neighbours; and therein cannott but lament our owne ill fortunes that we are called to your service in such cloudy times, when our hands are streightned and bound up from expressing our reall and industrious diligence in promoting your intrest in an honourable and advantagious trade. But since this lott is assign'd us, we cheerfully and with courage undergoe it, submitting to the Almightys pleasure.

A letter to Bantam of 30 March contains a further account of the English victory off Lowestoft, and mentions the arrival at Surat of representatives of the new French East India Company.

> The incorporating of a French Company is certaine; and here are two French gentlemen arriv'd, and intended up to this King.[1]

[1] The French envoys to Persia and India were the Sieur de Lalain and the Sieur de la Boullaye le Goût, on the part of the King, with Messieurs Béber, Du Pont, and Mariage, on behalf of the new Company. Of these the first and the last were designated for the negotiations in Persia, while the other three were to proceed to India. The party arrived at Ispahān early in July, 1665. Du Pont died near Shirāz later in the year. The two here mentioned as coming on to Surat were De La Boullaye and Béber. They started for Agra about a fortnight later.

For the privileges obtained from the Persian court, see a letter from Flower and Swinglehurst to the Company dated 26 October.

The fullest account of the embassy is to be found in Tavernier's *Recueil de plusieurs Relations*, 1679, part ii. Some details are added by Jean de Thevenot and in the Report of the Historical MSS. Commission on the Finch Papers, vol. i.

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They have already been received by the Persian, and settled some of their people in severall places of that kingdome, and doe expect shiping here this yeare. But that Capt. Blakman and Capt. Minors [1] are employ'd in their service we cannot beleive.

The Dutch, having excluded all others from the pepper trade on the Malabar Coast, 'make greate advantages by it, and have brought to this port within these two months above 8,000 maund'.

On 29 March arrived overland a letter from the Company dated 15 June, 1665, written mainly to give the news of the English victory off Lowestoft. This portion has already been quoted on p. 125. The Company took occasion to express surprise at the paucity of intelligence sent overland from Surat, and to convey a warning of private trade goods aboard the *St. George*. A postscript referred again to the debt due from Tulsi Dās and his claims against the estate of President Wyche.

Another letter was dispatched overland to London on 4 April. This gave some further details of the quarrel with Cooke and then proceeded to answer certain points in the Company's letter of 17 March, 1665. The President and Council denied that they had any superfluous factors. The only ones employed outside Surat were Hoskins at Broach and Smeaton and Barbor at Calicut; Harrington and Grigby were in the hands of the Dutch; and Scrivener and Nurse intended to go home that season. It was therefore rather a question of augmenting than of decreasing the establishment. The Company's directions about the estates of deceased persons would be obeyed; but it was difficult to force executors to pay the money into the Company's cash, when no instructions to that effect were given in the will. The estate of John Atkins was administered by John Widdrington, who refused to be accountable to anybody in India. He and Clopton were now on the Coromandel Coast, and the former was employed by Sir Edward Winter. These men, together with Chumley and other so-called freemen, ought to be seized and sent home.

They are now Sir Edwards instruments in the mutiny and (as we are inform'd) the two latter were lately employ'd from the Fort to Metchlepatam, there to seize on Mr. Jearsey by a wile and hurry

[1] The Bantam factors had written (28 July, 1665) that Capt. Blackman and Capt. Richard Minors were reported to have been engaged by the French. There seems to have been no foundation for the rumour.

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him to Sir Edward; but Mr. Jearsey, having private intelligence of it, was aforehand with them and (as we are inform'd) hath seized their persons, whom he hath now in durance.

A long explanation followed concerning Matthew Andrews's dealings with Wyche's estate, the debt due from Tulsi Dās, the transactions at Ahmadābād, &c. With the Company's censure of the extravagances in Persia the President and Council fully agreed, but professed themselves powerless to curb the factors. Complaint was made of Craddock's and Forster's proceedings in that country. The news of the English naval victory had been received from Aleppo the preceding December and had occasioned 'a day of praise and thanksgiving'. The Company's orders for all possible frugality in expenses were being observed; though the factors' parcimony, as contrasted with the lavishness of the Dutch, had a bad effect upon their relations with the local authorities, 'who accomptt such things their dues . . . and doe boldly demand them'. The *African* was still in the river, closely watched by two Dutch vessels. Seven more were in Swally Hole, most of them of considerable burden; and it was reported that they expected Rijkloff van Goens shortly, who would probably bring another fleet. Warning had been sent to Bombay, as it was feared that this concentration of forces implied some design against that island. A rumour was in circulation that the Duke of York had gained another victory and had given the Dutch no quarter. Any apparent failure to keep the Company informed of the course of events must have been due to the letters from Surat having been delayed by Flower's remissness. A postscript added that

In these ships the Dutch have brought up from Cochin, Porcatt, Quiloan, and the places thereto belonging 7 in 8,000 maunds Surat of pepper for sale here, besides what they sould to these jouncks that went downe to Cocheene, which is 3 in 4,000 maunds, at 5½ rupees per maund; also some cassia lignum is brought from thence, which is sould here now neare the rate cinnamon was sould for formerly. Also here are arriv'd two French men from Persia, one of them immediately from that King, with letters for the Kings of Persia and India, and the other a servant of their intended Company; having done their businesse at Spahaune, where some of them reside and others at Coung [Kung], a small distance from Gombroon, where they intend to settle. These here are making speedy preparation for their going up to court to deliver the French

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Kings letter concerning their trade and settling in these parts, to which they are to receive the Mogulls answer; who being a cynicall person and greate zelott, we beleive will not be soe pleasing as that they have received from the King of Persia. However, fearing they will infest this coast, he will not dare but to permitt them to trade for prevention sake.

A duplicate of this letter was sent by way of Basra on 18 April, accompanied by a note from Oxenden to the Consul at Aleppo, announcing that the design of the Dutch ships against Bombay had apparently been abandoned.

Six of them sayld hence for Batavia the 16 currentt; the other will follow in a few days. I cannot heare of any other engagement between the armies of the Mogull and King of Decan [Bījāpur] then what formerly advis'd you. They love not such hott service. They doe now what they ever practiced: keep at a distance to prolong the warr, knowing that, were it finisht (which might be by the taking of Vizapore), there would be noe further occasion for them.

The departure of the Dutch raised the question whether the *St. George* might not safely be brought over to Surat from Diu, and a consultation on the subject was held on 1 May. The weather, however, was bad, and there was a report that two Dutch ships might arrive at any moment from Persia; accordingly on 3 May a letter was sent to Captain Lord, directing him to stay where he was, but to be ready to come over 'by the full moon in August at furthest'.

A letter to Masulipatam of 30 May gave such intelligence as could be gleaned of events in Europe.

That His Majesties fleet was abroad again in July: that it hath pleas'd God to visitt the citty of London and the outparts with the plague, that there dyed in one week in July upward of 1000. We pray God putt a stopp to it, that our enemies may not have an advantage over us.[1] The *Richard and Martha* and *Happy Entrance* from Bantam are arriv'd at Kingsale in Ireland. Your Coast ships were not then arriv'd, but dayly expected; nor were the Batavia fleet, for which there were ships attending. De Ruyter, after he was beaten off from Barbados, came to Newfoundland [and has]

[1] The Bantam factors wrote to Surat on 28 July, 1665: 'The plague hath not only ranged in Holland, but these parts, as the coasts of Sumatra, Java, Bally, and Macasser. Batavia hath been allso sensible, in the losse of many inhabitants.'

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taken seven sayle, burnt the houses, and unhumanely used our people. There was a report that he was return'd with his fleet to Norway. The French doe assist the Dutch with 10,000 men and money proportionably.

On 11 July arrived a packet from Masulipatam, containing letters from the Company to Surat brought to the Coast on 24 May by the *Constantinople Merchant*. These were an original letter of 18 December, 1665, and a copy of one sent overland on 18 September, 1665, the original of which had failed to reach its destination. The earlier letter answered one from Surat of 26 November, 1664 (see the previous volume, p. 329), and showed some dissatisfaction at the news conveyed therein of the detention of the ships destined for England, for fear of the Dutch. This action, upon a mere rumour of hostilities, appeared to the Committees to show 'overmuch timerous and inconsideratenesse', and they feared that it had only increased the risk of the ships being attacked on their homeward voyage. Regret was expressed at the illness of Oxenden and others at Surat.

And as it hath pleased the Almightie to lay His afflicting hand upon the people in and about your parts in the adjacent townes and villages, soe it hath also pleased Him in a very greate measure to manifest His sore displeasure against the inhabitants of our sinfull provokeing nation, by visitting them with the plague of pestilence in many or most parts of the kingdome, espetially the citty of London and the adjacent parts included in the weekely bills of mortallity, in which hath this weeke dyed [ ].[1] The Lord in much mercy give us in this kingdome a sight of the cause, true repentance for our sinns, reformation of what is amisse, and turne away His feirce anger from us and send health in our habitations. This greate mortallity hath caused a greate part of the inhabitants to leave the citty and retire into severall parts in the country, amongst which severall of our Comittees; soe that peradventure you will find this letter subscribed but by a few of them;[2] notwithstanding which wee declare it as authentique as if firmed by the whole Court of Comittee, beeing they have given power to any five or more to act and manadg all the Companies affaires, till it shall please God, by withdraweing His heavy judgment from us, that a greater number may meete togither.

[1] Left blank; in the corresponding letter to Madras the number of the deaths in that week was stated as '7,200 persons'.

[2] It was signed by the Governor, Deputy, and six Committees.

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Satisfaction was recorded at the favour shown to the factors by the Governor of Surat in consequence of their services during Sivāji's raid (see the previous volume, p. 312), and a promise was given that those services should not go unrewarded by the Company. 'Wee thincke on this occasion you might easily gett of[f] the custome of mony and bullion, for which they receive little and is free in most parts.' Mention was next made of the safe arrival of three ships from Bantam, and of the *Coronation* and four others from Madras. In view of the war with Holland, it was not proposed to send to Surat more than one ship the following season, and she would be of about 300 tons only; but, should peace be concluded in time, the usual quantity of stock and shipping would be dispatched.

The letter of 18 December was a brief one. It acknowledged the receipt of the letters from Surat of 12–14 March and 31 March, 1665 (*supra*, pp. 1, 12). As regards the war, nothing of importance had happened since the Committees last wrote, though both sides were preparing for action in the coming spring.

The Prince of Munster hath entred into the Dutches country and posest himselfe of some places. The French King hath sent some forces to the asistance of the Dutch against the Prince of Munster, and our Kings Majestie hath asisted the Prince; and it is probable that a warr will breake forth betweene England and France; and therefore wee desire you to bee as cautious of the French as of the Dutch, that noe part of our estate or any of your persons come within the power of either of them. It hath pleased God, after a sadd and heavy affliction upon our nation in the plague of pestilence, wherein many thousands have falne, as you will perceive by the gennerall bill heerewith sent you, to magnifie His mercy and to withdrawe His judgments; there dying the last weeke but 428 of all diseases, whereof 210 of the plague; for which blessed bee His holy name. It hath pleased God to bring our shipps *London*, *Royall Charles*,[1] and *American* to the Isle of Wight, where they arrived the 9th instant. They anchored at the Mauritious the 16th May, and set saile from thence the 15th July. Meeteing with badd winds and weather, it was the 11th September before they doubled the Cape. [They] arrived at St. Hellena the 18th of the same moneth, and set saile from thence the 6th October.

[1] While lying in Table Bay, ignorant that war had actually broken out, the *Royal Charles* was attacked by a Dutch ship, the *Loosduinen*, but beat off her assailants with a loss to them of eleven men (*Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, p. 415).

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The letter of 18 September, 1665, was accompanied by the following narrative of an English naval success:

The Dutch East India shipps beeing twelve in number, ten of them gott safe into Bergen in Norway and the other twoe into other ports of Norway, with severall other shipps from the Straites, Spayne, France, and other places, to the number of about 100 saile, were also safely arrived at Bergen; which soe elevated the Dutch, with the repulse which a squadron of His Majesties fleete had from Bergen Castle, upon an attempt they made on the Dutch fleete in harbour, that their fleete of warr, of about 86 saile, steered their course directly for Bergen, to convoy home their marchant shipps. At which time the Englishe fleete were upon their way home and, praised bee God, the full number of shipps returned as went out. But as soone as they were come into harbour, haveing in a short time receeived a considerable recruite of fresh men and shipps, a fleete of 110 saile went for the coast of Holland, to awaite the Dutches retorne from Bergen. But the Dutch fleete, not long after their retorne from Bergen, were dispeirced by a violent storme in a sadd condition, and tis thought some of them perished in it. And it has pleased God that on the 3d, 4th, and 9th instant His Majesties fleete has taken eight men of warr, one of 70 gunns and the others upwards of 40 and 50 gunns a peece, twoe East India shipps, vizt. their vice admirall and reare admirall, besides about 20 saile of other marchant ships. And had not a storme happened on the 9th, which seperated His Majesties fleete, tis concluded they had done much more execution; but, blessed bee God, they are all (excepting a small friggatt of 20 gunns, which was sunck) safely arrived with the aforementioned prizes and neare upon 3,000 prizoners.

This intelligence, with some later news, was passed on to Bombay from Surat in a letter of 16 July, 1666, which said:

Our Kings Majesties fleet, expecting that the Dutch would not adventure another brush after they had been soe well paid off in June last, by order repair'd into harbour; which the Hollander being advis'd of, and that the coast was cleare, came out again with their whole recruited fleet; which His Majestie hearing presently enordred about 80 sayle to putt out again, resolving to fight them. But before they could meet, a greate storme seperated the Dutch fleet; which gave us an opportunity to pick them up, and soe took and destroy'd many of them before they could harbour themselves. And this was the second fight (as we conceive) formerly spoake of. Capt. Tyddiman was sent with a squadron towards Norway, upon advice that the Dutch East India fleet was putt in

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there; and finding them in harbour, after some days spent in dispute with the Danes, disswading them not to protect them, and finding nothing would prevail, sett on them; but the castles, having in time of treaty fitted themselves, did us some mischeif as to the losse of men; which Capt. Tyddiman perceiving drew off, and soe seem'd to sayle quite away; which posses't the Dutch with an opinion of having a very good opportunity to gett home, and in prosecution of their intentions some few days after sett sayle. Capt. Tyddiman, resolving not to leave them soe, waylay'd them on their owne coast and there sett on them again, took and destroy'd all their convoy of men of warr (which were eight stout ships) and took two of their East India ships and sunke another. The two East India ships that are taken are brought home; whose cargoes His Majestie was pleas'd to deliver to the East India Company to make sale of; which they accordingly did, and gave in an accomptt to His Majestie of 300,000*l.* And thus all things goe well in England.[1]

The coast being clear of Dutch ships, orders were given to Captain Harman to get the *African* out of the river about 6 August, and to Captain Lord to bring over the *St. George* from Diu by the same date. Some delay was experienced in both cases, and it was not until 2 September that the former vessel got over the bar and was ready to receive her cargo. Lord hesitated still longer, fearing the arrival of Dutch ships, and he did not put in an appearance until 10 September. As the *African* was by that time ready to sail, she was dispatched without waiting for the *St. George*; and the latter in turn departed on the 25th of the same month.[2]

Both vessels carried letters to the Company from the President and Council, bearing date the day of departure. The first of these explained the delay in dispatching the ships and then proceeded to answer the communications received in July. Oxenden and his colleagues vigorously defended themselves against the charge of pusillanimity in not venturing sooner to dispatch the *London* and her consorts. The President returned thanks for the sympathy shown with him in his ill-health and assured the Company that he was perfectly recovered. As regards the suggestion that an attempt should be made to induce the Emperor to forgo the

[1] A further account will be found in a later letter (31 August, 1666) to Surat.

[2] The sailing orders to both captains are printed in Sir George Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series*, vol. i. pp. 206–7.

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customs on treasure, the writers said mysteriously: 'Wee are upon something more, which wee hope to accomplish; but it is not yet ripe, and therefore are loth to acquaint you with it, least wee should faile in the enterprize.' Note was taken of the intention to dispatch a ship to Surat, but it was explained that goods could not be obtained from the inland places much before December, when the roads had dried after the rains.

For in these countryes here are no beaten roads or mending of high wayes; but the first carts that travail must cut them anew with their wheeles, that makes it very tedious and troublesome travelling in the first of the yeare.

If therefore a vessel must be dispatched earlier, it would have to be with goods collected at Surat before the rains. Moreover, the danger from the Dutch was great, and little protection could be expected from the Indian authorities, with whom the Dutch had great influence.

It is now nere two yeares that wee have been labouring with this Governour, and at last can get only a bare promise that the Dutch shall committ no hostility in the usuall anchoring place before this rivers mouth; and that is the outside and utmost extent, which hee saith the Dutch have oblidg'd themselves to, only by word of mouth. . . . Wee importuned the Governour that hee would cause them to give it in writing under their hand and seale, and wee would doe the like; but they refuse it, and the Governour will not disoblidg them that are so liberall to him. And thus you see in what a sorry condition wee live in. Wee have formerly acquainted you how numerous the enemy is upon this coast, that there is not a port or creeke that doth not swarme with their great and lesser vessails, that it is to our admiration that you would send and venture any ships or estate, for nothing less then a miracle can preserve them from ruine and destruction.

Early in July the Dutch at Surat had received letters from Masulipatam, and thereupon put a stop to all their investments for Europe. The arrival of two Frenchmen had been previously reported to the Company.

Wee shewed them some outward civillities, but intend them no inward kindness. These since went up to court with a letter from the French King to the Mogull, the contents whereof is to procure a grant that his merchants may be admitted to live peaceably and settle factoryes of trade in his country. But they have had neither

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respect nor countenance shewed them, but tossed from post to pillar; and although they have been there some monthes, cannot procure audience or be permitted to deliver their letter. For coming to Jaffer Ckaun, the second man in the kingdome, hee demaunded of them if they had brought any present, for it was not his Kings manner to receive letters from any Prince emptie; but they replyed they were emissaries and had not brought any thing; whereupon hee tould them hee would not undertake to bring them into the Kings presence. Then they told him they expected ships out of France in the monzone, that would bring thence both an embassadour and presents; to which hee answered them againe that they might stay untill their embassador came, and then hee would present them; and so would heare them no farther, dismissing them. Since which they have endeavoured by other meanes to procure audience, but none would undertake it without a certaine summ, which they had not to give; and at last were constrained to depart as they came, with their letter; and as they were upon the way in their retourne, were sett upon by theives, that robb'd them of all they had and wounded one of them with an arrow. This their hard fate carryed them back againe with open mouth to the court, where they have clamoured so long that it is at last come to the Kings eare; whereupon they gott admittance, and tis said will have an answere of their letter, and satisfaction made them out of the Kings exchequer.[1] They are generally disliked by all the merchants and people here, and called robbers and pedlers; for when wee tell them their country affords no staple commoditie proper for these parts, they seeme greatly offended and wish them gone. [So] that, if they be permitted to trade here, it will be more for feare that they will fall upon their jounks and vessails then out of any other respect; for as well the grandees as the meanest wish the country were well ridd of them, and wee beleive they will give them cause in a short time.

Reference was next made to the fighting round Basra.

The Grand Signor tooke an occation the last yeare to fall out with the Basshaw of Bussora, and sent a great army against him; which finding hee could not resist, left the citty to the mercy of the

[1] In a private letter to John Stanyan of the East India House, dated 24 November, 1666 (*O.C.* 3203), Randolph Taylor said that the Frenchmen believed that the attack made upon them was 'procured by the Dutch at Agra, and that from the directions of their superiours'. He added that on their return to court 'they obtained their ends, and have the same priviledges and immunities granted them that the Dutch enjoy. So that now they only want their long looked for shipping to lay the foundation of their trade in India. You may expect to heare more of them hereafter'.

It was Béber who was wounded: see Tavernier's account of the incident.

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enemy and fled to a castle or strong hold hee had, and was pursued and girt in. But in the end it proved a money business; so that, the summ being agreed upon,[1] the army withdrew and left him to his possessions againe. These commotions, wee conceive, was the cause that your overland letters miscarried, nor could wee receive a line from the Consull of Aleppo as accustomary.

Details were then given of the proceedings in the Red Sea of the *Love*, under Hinmers and Evans;

Who, we are advis'd, domineerd sufficiently with our Kings Majesties flag and jack, giving out that the vessail belonged to His Majestie, shewing their commission in parchment, in the front whereof was His Majesties portraiture, and gave passes as the Kings immediate servants, declaring the ship to be for the Kings proper account; copie of one of which passes wee herewith send you attested, given to the nocquadah or commander of a jounk belonging to Dio.[2] All which their specious pretences wee cannot give any creditt to, beleiving that, if His Majestie would trade for India, hee would appoint better shipps, better stock, and better men; but these are Mr. Andrewes creatures, and the very designe speakes it to be his projecting, and is well enough so; but that they should thus publiquely use His Majesties name in so poore a business is very dishonourable, that wee are troubled to heare it, and certainly will not be well taken, did His Majestie know it. . . . This vessaile gott into Mocha late in the yeare, yet time enough to procure her lading of coffee and some few druggs, and departed sometime in August, sailing within the [Comoro] Islands, intending to put in at Mozambique; and having but bad pilotts, fearing they should overshoot their port, kept so nere into the maine that about 20 leagues short of their port, about two of the clock in the afternoone, with a faire winde and cleare weather, they made a shift to runn her upon a ledg of rocks, where shee stuck fast, and was not long before shee bilg'd.[3] But they had time to gett out their boats and save themselves and some moneys that lay aloft, wee are informed to the amount of 12,000 dollors; but all her carga[zoon] that was in hold perrished. So the men gott safe to Mozambique in their boats; but before the seamen would land their merchants, they forced them to pay them all their wages. And since Mr. Hin-

[1] According to a letter from Surat to Kārwār of 11 May the amount was 500,000 dollars. See also letters from Gombroon of 24 February and 16 April, and the *Report on the Finch MSS.*, vol. i.

[2] See *O.C.* 3063. In it the date of the royal commission is given as 31 December, 1664.

[3] In a letter from Surat to Bengal of 19 June, 1666, it is stated that the wreck occurred on 28 November, 1665, that the guns, masts, &c., were recovered (but no cargo), and that the captain, John Hart, died two months before the catastrophe.

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mers and Mr. Evâns are arrived to Goa with their moneys, and thence (as wee are advised) [they intend] either for England in some Portugall vessaile or Fort St. George; but they will not come nere us. Should they, wee should make bould to examine their commission, so lowdly spoken of by these people that saw it.

The death from fever of Richard Hardres was next announced and lamented, 'for hee was very able, and a sober young man'; also (the previous year) of Richard Sampson, engaged from the *African* in her former voyage to be drummer at Surat, 'finding that such martiall instruments were as good as a file of musketeers to affright these people'

Mr. William Jesson, your quondam servant and cheife at Agra, died the last yeare, leaving all his creditors unsatisfied, his engagements amounting to a very great summ. Wee are informed hee died very poore, leaving nothing but his wearing clothes behinde him; but as hee was none of your servant, wee would not appeare in any thing or suffer his outcry to be made in the howse, that so his creditors might have no pretence upon us. Yet our servants that wee have lodged at court to follow our business and give us intelligence, and whome wee have all along entrusted and employed to provide your Agra goods, hath lately been troubled by a jeweller unto whome Mr. Jesson owes a great summ, laying his pretences to our servant as factor for the English; but hath againe desisted and laid downe his pretences and is quiet for the present. Yet from hence wee perceive wee shall never be at rest, or you freed from their claime, untill wee enter into the list with them and maintaine your right; which is not difficult, if you give us leave to be stout and to repell the force, if any be put upon us. For what verdict they shall get upon us by the Kings order must be by bribes, or a promise to the partie that procures it, the halfe or a quarter part of the award (a usuall practice for the getting in of desperate debts); and untill something of this nature be done, your estates will alwaies be in danger, by making seizure of your goods or laying an attachment on them; though in the close wee doe not doubt but to cast them and free you from all demands ever afterward.

Overland advices from England always travelled slowly and were exposed to many risks.

Whereas the Dutch have six or eight dogger boats of some three or fourescore tunns now in India [i.e. the East Indies] that have been sent out at times only with advice; and this Commandore hath often tould the President their Company have alwayes such vessails fitted, waiting for orders, and are imediately dispatcht.

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The last year here arrived one in August, to advise of your *Affricans* coming forth. And so long as they take this course, wee can never expect to have the occurrances of Europe before them, or so soone.

Next was given an account of the well-known incident of Sivāji's visit to the Emperor.

The grand rebell Sevagee is at last entrapped and caught in the same nett of glorious promises that hee was wont to make for others, by this King, who is as perfidious as himselfe; working with him by the Generall of his army, that by order made him large promises of great preferment, as the pay of 6,000 horse, and his sonne 3,000; which after some further invitations, hee was enclyned to accept, upon this Kings promise (given in writing) to receive him into his favour, with free pardon and forgiveness of what was past. Which having obtained, the rebell supposed himselfe safe, tooke his journey to the court to make his obeisanc and allegiance to the King; and had audience, but not at all to his likeing, being placed below certaine noblemen whome hee accounted his inferiours; and notwithstanding hee was in the Kings presence, his stout heart could not beare it, but shewed his disgust by leaving the presence, retired into another roome, greatly enraged; and although the King sent severall of his nobles, hee could not be perswaded to retourne or forbeare his upbraiding language, saying hee was none of their captive taken by conquest, but came upon articles; and from that time forward cannot be brought to come before the King any more.[1] But the King, to secure him, hath dismist all those hee brought with him, placing servants of his owne about him, and a sufficient guard upon the howse wherein hee lives; otherwise giving him his libertie. But it is concluded by all that hee will never be sufferred to retourne againe into his owne country or be able to make any escape, there is so strict a watch upon him; that all account themselves freed from any further feares of him.

[1] An earlier letter (8 June) from Surat to Kārwār gave a somewhat different version: 'Here is nothing more of news but the certainty of Sevagys appearing before this King; where his comportment and behaviour was not suitable to the Kings good liking, for which he received a severe check. His spiritt could not beare such humiliation as the other Umbrahs, to waite at a distance with their hands before them like mutes. The thoughts thereof putt him into a feavour; which the King hearing (tis said) sent to comfort him with promises of great preferment, and tis report he is sent to Cabull. But we are too farr from court to tell you at present wheather he be sent as an Umbrah with power to govern that country, or to be conveniently laid aside.' This rumour is mentioned in John Campbell's narrative (*Indian Antiquary*, 1908). Thevenot (*Suite du Voyage*, ed. 1727, vol. v. p. 90) says that Aurangzeb proposed to employ Sivāji in besieging Kandahār.

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The Company was then reminded of the necessity of sending a more plentiful supply of stock. Requests from Aungier and Taylor for increased remuneration were reported. Valentine Nurse was returning in the *African*, "the times giving no encouragement to young men."

The pepper wee now send is that of Cochin; which wee procured from the Dutch by a wyle, being bought underhand by a merchant in the towne that wee employed, who did it in freindship to us;[1] which the Commandore hearing of was very much troubled, for their manner is to condition with the partie to whome they sell their goods not to let us have any, but otherwise are free to dispose of them where they cann (so malicious are they). You have a considerable quantity of pepper at Callicutt, but [wee] cannot contrive any means to gett it up to us; for none of these people dare to take it into their vessails; they stand in such awe of the Dutch, who have proclaimed confiscation of ship and goods where they finde any pepper.

A reminder was given of a former request for a supply of youths for training and the admission as factors of Bromfield and Child.

Your library here is carefully looked after and preserved, and wee could wish it were better furnished with bookes. It consists for the maine of English treatises, and is almost totally disfurnisht of the workes of the ancient writers. Wee finde not, of all the Fathers workes, any more then the Epistles of Clemens Romanus, published by Mr. Patrick Young. Here are the Epistles of Ignatius, the workes of Epiphanius and St. Augustine, with some few imperfect peeces of other Fathers, but belonging to a private library. Our desire is that you would be pleased to furnish the Library with a supply of some of the ancient writers and (if you shall thinke it good) with these, or some part of them, that follow: *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, Justini Martyris Opera, Tertulliani Opera, Ambrosii Opera, Hieronymi Opera, Gregorii Magni Opera, Clementii Alexandrini Opera, ex editione Heasii.* And because wee have not any thing in the library of the ancient Councells, wee could wish for the collection of them by Binnius; unto which if you please to add a booke entituled *Pugio Fidei, authore Raymundo Martini, Ordinis Cecistrensis*, with the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, wee shall thankfully receive them, as being bookes here very usefull.

Mention was made of the presence in the library of the Bible in various languages, presented by Thomas Rich (see the 1655–60

[1] See the record of a consultation held on 21 March.

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volume, p. 324), and a request was preferred for a lexicon in two volumes, 'designed as a helpe for the easier attainment of the said languages'.[1] The claims of their minister, to a salary equal to that enjoyed by his predecessors, were again urged upon the Company. A rejoinder to the reply made by Matthew Andrews to the charges drawn up at Surat was forwarded. Reference was made to the payment of a debt due by the late Walter Travers to some merchants at Porakād. The Kāyal and Siam factory accounts had been left to Madras to settle; also Pīr Khān's desperate debt of 220 rials of eight (see the 1661–64 volume). The balance of Revington's estate was being kept in hand towards the satisfaction of a debt due by him to a shroff at Rājāpur. Captain Lord was censured for his delay in bringing over his vessel. The vessels he took to be Dutch were only junks returning from Mokha. They brought news of a charge of piracy made there against the English.

The relation is thus. A Messulapatam jounk, that wintered in the Red Sea, was sailing to her port, and off Cape Faelix[2] shee mett with this English vessail coming into the Streights, which gave them chace, fireing gunns upon her; whereupon they lowered all their sailes and anchored into the shore; when the English ship sent off her boat, which coming nere to the jounk, the Moores, being frighted, made some resistance, firing gunns at the boat, which (as they say) tooke place and killd some of the men; whereupon they retourned to their ship, that presently waighed and came up with her, powering broadsides into her. [But the Moores], mistrusting what would follow upon retourne of the boat, got ashoare with what they could carry, leaving the jounk to their mercy; who, seing the men had left her, went aboard and tooke out their gold and silver and what elce they had a minde to; which done, they sunke the jounk, they upon the shoare looking on all the while. They say further they were afterwards plundered againe by the natives of the country, that tooke away that little that they saved, and at last escaped with their lives; charging the ship *Love* with this robbery, but the ship had dispatcht their business and left Mocha before they could come thither, that nothing of it was knowne untill afterwards. These lost men are since embarqued in a jounk bound for Metchlepatam, and wee feare will trouble your servants when they come thither; though

[1] As Mr. C. A. Storey has pointed out to me, this was doubtless Dr. Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, which was under preparation at this time, although it was not actually published until 1669.

[2] Ras Filuk (Ras-al-Fīl), about 40 miles west of Cape Guardafui.

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wee cannot hitherto finde any just cause they have to charge either the nation or the ship *Love*.[1] However, their pretence being so very dishonourable, and may also prove prejudiciall to you, wee could not doe less then lett you know this, that you may take some course to prevent the coming abroad of such interlopers for the future; and further that you would be pleased to take into your considerations how greatly our 'Kings Majesties name is defamed by this *Loves* cape merchants vapouring with the united [i. e. Union] flag and declaring the ship and carga[zoon] belonged imediately to our King.

Then follows a reference to Bombay (which will be noticed later); and the letter concludes with a commendation of Captain Harman and an intimation that the cargo of the *African* was invoiced at 143,152 rupees.

The letter of 25 September, sent by the *St. George*, was of the nature of an addendum to the foregoing. It mentioned that the *African* had on board six chests of indigo 'called Larwa', a new sort attracted from the Deccan by the scarcity of Agra and Ahmadābād indigo. The dyers had affirmed that it gave a very good colour, and so a consignment had been purchased and sent home for a trial.

It cost you but 25¾ rupees per maund; which is much cheaper then ever the Lahore indico will come at, which in the memory of man was never under 32, when at the cheapest, but the usuall price is from 35 to 37 rupees.

By the *St. George* were being sent five churls of another new sort called 'Telinge',[2] costing 23 rupees 55 pice per maund. The

[1] A letter from Surat to Masulipatam of 29 September, 1666, gives much the same account of the attack on the junk, but from later information absolves the *Love*. It says that during her stay of nearly three months at Mokha no evidence appeared of the crew being in possession of any plunder, and adds: 'since which the truth of all is come to light and is certainely knowne to bee a Sweeds man of warr that committed this robery.... This Sweed came out upon a theiveing voyage into these seas; whoe afterwards, haveing spent all her stores and provisions and discontent arriseing among the men, were at last constrained to putt into Goa, sold or pawned their shipp to pay of their men, and the commander and some others shipt themselv's in a vessell bound for Lisboa, which being belated could not double the Cape and was forced back to Mozambique.'

This letter gives the burden of the *Love* as 120 or 130 tons; an earlier letter from Surat to Bengal (19 June) estimated it at 150.

In the Public Record Office Museum may be seen a letter in Arabic, addressed by the Governor of Mokha to King Charles, entrusted to the supercargoes of the *Love* for delivery.

[2] Probably from the Telinga or Telugu country (the northern part of the Madras Presidency).

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captains of the two vessels had been paid 800 rials of eight for demurrage.

Here is now very lately arrived an emissary from court with an order to this Governour to require us and the Dutch to write to our masters to send hither five gunfounders and two engineers or pioneers, that have skill in millitary affaires and giving directions for digging mines and contriving workes for the advantageous assaulting or worsting the enemy; requiring expresly that they be very experienced practicall men. All which the Governour prest us very hard to, and did read to us what the King had wrote to him concerning it; which although they runn in very commanding expressions, as a prince that concludes none dare to deny his demands, yet wee know not how convenient you may judg this, or whether any free borne subject will consent to undertake the service; although their pay and encouragement from the King will be inviting, provided they are able men of sober discretion, and also will bring us highly in the Kings favour, to the furthering your business. Wherfore, finding the emissary and mandate were sent expresly upon this occation and no other, wee thought good to promise the Governour to write to you effectually about it, but withall tould him our country was farr off, and that hee must not expect an answere in less then 18 monthes; in which time wee hope either the Dutch will furnish them, or there will be no occation, and so will dye of it selfe; and if not, wee shall finde one excuse or other, if you think not good to send them. Here is great preparations of warr against the King of Persia, whose armyes have broke in upon the borders of this Kings country, done some spoile and taken some townes, that the Mogull is bending all his force against him, and (report saith) is resolved to goe thither in person; and, that hee may not be mollested, hath concluded a peace with the Decanees.

Next was given an account of Sivāji's escape from Agra.

Notwithstanding the great watch and guard that was upon him, here is very lately certaine newes come that hee and his sonne are got away, conveighed in two basketts, and that hee can no where be found; so that the jealousies and feares of the countryes hereabouts begin againe to be great.

Inquiry was then made whether the new kinds of calicoes, viz. 'Nunderbaud[1] baftaes and pautkaes',[2] recently sent home,

[1] Nandurbār, in West Khāndesh.

[2] 'Potkaes' in the duplicate. The term may be related to the Hindustāni *patka*, a girdle or sash.

were liked by the Company; for, if they were approved, the factors would arrange for a larger supply. This would be an advantage, because the districts round Surat were 'oppressed' by the demands of the Dutch and the English, and were raising their prices accordingly. At the conference with the Governor concerning the provision of gunfounders, &c., occasion was taken to point out to him that the factors had for sale several large brass guns, besides mortars and 'granadoes' (i. e. shells). He was much pleased and wrote to the Emperor on the subject; so there was some hope of getting rid of these things at last, unless the want of a gunner to work them should prove an obstacle. The lading of the two ships had swept away all the available stock and forced the factors to borrow for the current investment. The disadvantages of this course had been often demonstrated, and the Company were again urged to send out a plentiful stock. The regular supply of two or three tuns of beer was also requested,

> For the expence of the howse and entertainment of strangers, being esteemed a noveltie; and doth otherwise nothing encrease our charges, but rather lessen them in wine. For our family cannot altogether subsist with water, but doe require a little wine at meales, which is allowed them; in leiu whereof a cup of beere would be more acceptable.

The best way would be to arrange with the master of the ship to deliver the desired quantity (in good condition) out of his own stores, in consideration of being paid the value beforehand in England. The factors' stock of paper and quills was exhausted, and a fresh supply was asked for, particularly of good and large sheets of paper, suitable for letters and accounts. A list was forwarded of goods received from the *St. George* in a damaged condition. The chief loss had occurred in the quicksilver, and the Company was again urged to prevent leakage by putting it into copper pots, covered with leather. The vermilion, as usual, arrived in bad condition, owing to the hoops being knocked off the tubs in rummaging the hold. It was now in small demand. 'The reason is becaus these people have the way of making better here, out of the quicksilver bought of us, and sell it within a penny or three halfe pence as cheape as wee.' The factors had often wondered at the complaints from the East India House of goods being received from Surat badly packed. They had now discovered that

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of late years the masters of the ships, ' to gaine some small matter in stowage ', had not only taken off the ropes of some bales and cut off the ' luggs ' (i. e. corners) of others, but had actually in some cases opened the bales and shot the contents loose into the hold. The factors reported this for their own exculpation, and urged that it would be only reasonable that the master, having acknowledged in the bill of lading that he had received the goods well conditioned, should be required to make recompence for any damage sustained in transit. Finally, the cost of the cargo of the *St. George*, as shown in the invoice, was stated at Rs. 135,290.

A letter from Surat to Masulipatam (29 September) said that the lading of the two vessels, amounting to 31,325*l.*, had ' dreaned from us neare double what they brought '.[1] It further stated that all through the year reports had been prevalent of a large fleet of men-of-war coming from England, and that these rumours had made the Dutch uneasy.

The vessel which the Company had promised to dispatch to Surat proved to be the *Return* (370 tons), under Captain Thomas Stanton. She left Plymouth on 24 April, 1666, and arrived at Goa (to which port she had been ordered to repair in the first instance) on 24 September. On board of her was Sir Gervase Lucas, the new Governor of Bombay, of whom more will be said in the next section. The commander, on the day after his arrival, wrote to Surat for instructions as to his future proceedings. His letter was received on 19 October, and on the next day[2] the President and Council replied, instructing him, should there be no Dutch ships at Vengurla, to sail at once for Surat and anchor off the bar at the mouth of the Tāpti. He arrived there accordingly on 9 November, and his cargo was landed and a new lading put on board so expeditiously, that by the 25th of the same month he was able to start on his homeward voyage.

The *Return* had brought several letters from the Company. The first of these, dated 7 March, 1666,[3] commenced by answering

[1] See also the record of a consultation at Surat, 30 September, printed in Sir George Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series*, vol. i. p. 207.

[2] See a consultation of that date (Forrest, *ibid.*, p. 209). The letter was entrusted to Jeremy Griffin, late commander of the *Royal Welcome*, who undertook to make the voyage to Goa in a little sloop (see his instructions, 20 October).

[3] The references to Bombay, &c., in this letter and its companions are dealt with in the succeeding chapters.

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the Surat letter of 12 March, 1665 (see p. 1). The Committees took note of the representations made concerning the aggressions of the Dutch on the Malabar Coast, but intimated that nothing could be done until the end of the war. Meanwhile the factors should maintain their footing at Porakād, Kārwār, &c., in order that 'the Dutch may have noe pretence of our deserting the trade of those places and thereby claime a proprietie thereof unto themselves'. The suggestion from Surat that quicksilver should be packed in copper pots was rejected on the score of expense; while as for sending out copper 'in cakes', it would cost more in England than it would fetch in India. No indigo should be supplied in future, unless it could be obtained at not above 3*s.* a lb. for Lahore, and 1*s.* 6*d.* for Sarkhej. Rainsford's estate having been closed, the request of his Indian creditors for interest could not be entertained; and in future the Company would recognize no liability for debts due to Indians from Englishmen not in its service. In view of the information received from Surat, the proposal to leave the trade in Persia to some factors remunerated by commission only was dropped for the present; but the factors there should be warned to be very frugal in their expenditure. The amount due from Tulsi Dās must be recovered. Nothing was to be expected on this account from Matthew Andrews, 'beeing wee have now fully ended with' him; but some recovery might be made from Wyche's estate if Tulsi Dās would send to England a power of attorney. Coral was scarce, owing to the war, but any available would be sent out.

As wee cannot aprove of those reasons which you have given us as to the private landing of our gould, soe wee are resolved not to allowe of its practize; and therefore require that you comply with our former order of makeing a publicke and full entry of all such gould as wee shall send you, beeing (as formerly wee have said) it is to the honour of the Company to have it knowne, and wee will not runn a hazard to bringe a gayne to private purses. Neither have wee much reason to feare that the knowledge of haveing gould in our house will expose it to any hazard of robbing, beeing wee knowe you have allwaies about you a suffitient strength to secure it. Wee have allready made Mr. Mathew Andrewes to pay for such practizes, and those that shall follow his example, either publickely by force (as you say was his custome) or privately, must expect the like.

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The brass ordnance on hand should be sold for any price it would fetch; also any other useless articles. Strict economy was enjoined and all subordinate factors were to be restricted to 'their lymitted expences'. Evidently the Committees did not sympathize with the antipathy felt at Surat for Sivāji and were as willing to trade with him as with any one else, for they went on to say:

Wee take notice that Sevagee goes on in takeing places and plundering townes, and wee knowe not but that hee may settle in some of those places which hee hath or may posesse himselfe off, and then doubtlesse hee will invite trade thither. Wee would therefore have you to continue a good corespondency with him, that, when such an opertunity shall present, you may bee readie to imbrace it, if it may redownd to our interest and bee done with safety; for at present wee are not in a capassity of sending you out any vessells from hence to meete with his jounckes, and therefore desire your care that wee bee noe further sufferers by him, and (as before) to keepe a faire corespondency with him.

Anthony Smith, if he had not already left India, was to be sent to England by the next ship. Steps were being taken to supply the medical stores desired. The parcels of jewels brought home by the *London* and *Royal Charles* had been disposed of in accordance with the instructions received, and Oxenden had been credited with his share of the freight and permission money. Information having been received from Madras that 'one Mr. Andrewes' was residing at Golconda, selling private trade goods received from Surat, an explanation was demanded, with the names of those employing him. The war had made it impossible to procure a ship on freight, and the Company had therefore purchased the *Return*. Her cargo consisted of broadcloth (11,224*l.*), quicksilver (798*l.*), vermilion (367*l.*), lead (988*l.*), alum (128*l.*), perpetuanoes (449*l.*), gold ingots (6,041*l.*), silver ingots (347*l.*), provisions (138*l.*), iron ordnance (135*l.*): total, 20,615*l.* The captain had been ordered to land his goods at Surat as speedily as possible, and then, after taking in any that were ready, to proceed to Goa, Diu, or any other port in which the ship would be safe, there to await the completion of his lading, which might be sent in Indian vessels. Goa was judged to be the most suitable port for this purpose, as being secure and at the same time near to the pepper country. Since no shipping was being sent out to Bantam this year, owing to the war, a packet

for that Agency was enclosed for transmission. Should hostilities continue, only one ship would be dispatched to Surat the following year. The desired supply of young writers was deferred until the conclusion of peace, when also the applications of Henry Bromfield and John Child would be taken into consideration. The French had joined the Dutch in the war,[1] and precautions should be taken accordingly. A reminder was given of previous orders for the dispatch to St. Helena of indigo seeds, with, if possible, two men experienced in their cultivation. If sufficient lading for the *Return* were not available, some saltpetre should be obtained from Rāybāg for the purpose; in any case 100 tons might be provided for the next ship. Sixty bales of red Karmān wool should be ordered from Persia, care being taken to insure it from Gombroon to Surat. Finally, the utmost economy was urged for the duration of the war. A postscript added that the spikenard, rhubarb, and cassia lignum recently received were very bad, while the last-named had cost more than twice as much as it would fetch in London. No more should be sent, unless it was very good and cost not more than 10 mahmūdis per maund. The cotton wool also was 'such dirty shrubbish that it troubles us to see such come to England'. In future only clean wool, picked fine, should be sent, of the longest staple procurable. Copies of all papers relating to the estate of the late John Lambton should be furnished, as the family had renewed their complaints.

The delay experienced in getting the *Return* away from England enabled the Company to address a further letter to Surat on 24 March. This asked for a large supply of Malabar pepper, since access to Bantam and Jambi was obstructed by the war. An endeavour should also be made to obtain pepper from those places by way of the Coromandel Coast, that 'being least infested with an enemy'. Orders were now given for a supply of indigo at current prices; if good Lahore indigo was procurable at not above a 'rupie' per lb., the quantity might be increased, this being 'a comodity of indispencible use in England'. Aloes Socotrina, 'tyncall', olibanum, coffee, and cotton yarn might be sent home, but the quality must be good in each case. Calicoes had sold well,

[1] Louis XIV, who was bound by his defensive alliance with the Dutch, intervened in their favour early in 1666, though only to a limited extent.

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especially the coarser varieties, and a large supply was desired. The 'derebands' from Agra should be 'whited' at Broach; if they could not be procured at a reasonable rate, 'sovaguzzees'[1] might be substituted. The weavers should be urged to make the 'dungarrees' and 'parcollees' a full yard broad and in whole pieces. Orders were given for 'Serwunge[2] chints' and blue baftas; also for cowries, of which a large quantity might be supplied. Particulars were supplied of the President's share of the freight and permission money on jewels sent home; and a reference was made to a dispute as to the disposal of some goods consigned by Oxenden to 'Madame Dallison',[3] who died before they could be delivered.

To these letters the President and Council now (24 November) made reply. After narrating the arrival of the *Return* and the steps taken to lade her, they again urged the importance of keeping the factory well supplied with money and goods, to avoid the necessity of borrowing. The abandonment of the factory at Kārwār and the imprisonment of Smeaton and Barbor at Calicut were next mentioned; also the arrival of Sir Gervase Lucas at Bombay. Tulsi Dās had no bill or bond to support his claim against Wyche's estate, and the receipts on account of the latter had all been brought to the credit of the Company. Tulsi Dās had not been employed since Oxenden's arrival, though in charity he had been allowed to continue to style himself the Company's broker, 'to preserve him from the merciless crueltie of his creditors'. Coral was still in great demand.

Our last tould you that Savagee had made an escape from this Kings courte; which is since confirmed for a certaine truth, that now all waite some cruell revenge upon the country and people. Wee were lately hotly allarum'd upon a reporte that he was come neere with a flyeing army, that all the people began to flye againe; but the reporte proved falce. Yet, let him come when he will, the whole towne will bee dispeopled; for none will face him or abide the place. You recommend a faire correspondence with him; but

[1] Assuming that the 'guzzee' was so called because it was originally a *gaz* wide, the 'sovaguzzee' was presumably a cloth one-fourth broader (Hindustāni *sawa*, 'a quarter more').

[2] Sironj. Fryer (ed. Crooke, vol. i. p. 220) mentions 'Siring chints', which his editor interprets as the Persian *shīrīnbāf*; but this seems to be unlikely. Tavernier (ed. Ball, vol. i. p. 56) says that the chintzes of Sironj were particularly good and were in much demand.

[3] Oxenden's sister Elizabeth had married William, son of Sir Maximilian Dallison.

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we knowe not what league to hould with a rebell and perfidious theife, but desire to keepe our distance and have nothing to doe with him.

Anthony Smith had thrice been ordered home, but had not obeyed. This time he had begged to be allowed to remain until the following year or the conclusion of peace, in view of the danger of the seas and the short warning; and to this they had thought it but reasonable to assent. With respect to the money due to Oxenden and the goods forwarded for his sister, he had now sent a power of attorney in favour of his brother, Sir Henry, and the latter's eldest son, James. As regards Andrews, the factors' alleged agent at Golconda, the truth was as follows.

Here was such a man here at Surat at our comeing: a wretched poore man, that would be thankfull for a meales meate. He was a wand'ring vagabond, and one that we never understood to have any residence. His last imployment we can learne was given him by the deceased William Jesson, that entrusted him with a few chests of Shiraz wine and some sword blades, with which he was to follow the campe; which he did untill he had sold and spent all, both principall and profit, and, provissions being deare, was constreyned to retyre to Gulcondah, and there died in a shorte time afterward, in such misserable povertie that Mr. Mingham, gunner to that King, writes he was moved in charritie to paie for the diging his grave and putting him into the grounde. . . . This man was a servant to the United Jointe Stocke, unto whom he still stands indebted more then a thousand pounds. [He] was turned of by President Blackman,[1] and hath ever since wandred up and downe in the countrie.

That part of the *Return's* cargo should be sent to her at Goa would have proved impossible, for, apart from the probability of the enemy blockading Surat (as they did the previous year), no Indian vessel would dare to receive a bale of English goods, owing to Dutch threats of confiscating any ship on which such goods were found. Fortunately, they had continued their investments and so were able to provide at once a good return cargo. The broadcloth received was likely to yield 50 per cent. profit, as that commodity was scarce. The instructions as to the entry of their gold in the custom-house were noted; but the English

[1] This identifies him as Thomas Andrews, Jesson's old associate at Agra, so often mentioned in the previous volumes.

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house was by no means as secure as the Company thought, for

Both of English in the familye and native servants of the countrie, we have not halfe the number of either that have formerly bin mainetained at your charge, meerely for pompe and pride, when there were peaceable times and not the least feare of being robbed; whereas at present the slight accompt that is made of this King by his subjects, his blinde zeale and neglect of his countries are soe greate, besides the feare of Sevagee, even by the consent of this Kings partie that are appointed to keepe him out (on which accompt he came in the last time), and the severall outlawes rounde about us, that daiely committ pettie plunders, murder some, and cutt of the hands of others, that Surat is become a garrissone more then a towne of trade; only here wants the gaurde, which the King takes noe care of. Here are now come downe 6 or 700 horse, besides foote, to carrie awaie his treasure etc.; and that secured, let who will take what is left, fire the towne, and runn awaie by the light; as sure they will, whoe ever attempts it. [So] that wee begin to thinke our lives are more deare then estates, which now is but small, and to provide for them.

The injunctions as to economy would be conveyed to the factors in Persia, who, however, paid little attention to orders from Surat. The trouble caused by Craddock's misconduct had been settled for 85 tūmāns, the equivalent of which (2,465 rupees) had been paid into the Surat treasury on his behalf by Matthew Gray. A quantity of Karmān wool had been waiting at Gombroon over a year, but Flower had failed to find the means of getting it to Surat. Gratification was expressed at the promise to consider the employment of Bromfield and Child, who were both 'able and qualified for your service'. So many factors had gone home that, even with the aid of those two young men (who ought to be given a gratuity for their past services), the existing staff could not do the work properly. Another young man, Mansell Smith, who was being employed privately by Oxenden, was also recommended for employment by the Company when fresh appointments should be considered. Indigo seed would be supplied to St. Helena by the next ship. No Indian could be induced to go thither; but full directions would be sent with the seed. No saltpetre could be procured from Rāybāg or any other place in the Deccan, owing to the continual wars there. However, they had managed to collect

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about 50 tons from other parts, but it had not yet arrived at Surat. This commodity was so much in demand that only a standing order for a yearly supply would enable them to arrange for its procurement. As for the cassia lignum complained of, it was sent as received from Calicut, and was wrongly invoiced at 38 instead of 3 rupees per maund. The rhubarb must have come from Bantam, for none had been supplied from Surat. A detailed answer was next given to Lady Lambton's representations about her son's estate. As regards pepper, it was impossible to procure a supply, as the Dutch, by refusing passes to Surat vessels for trade on the Malabar Coast, had become virtually the only importers; while, since they were outwitted last year, they had redoubled their vigilance in preventing any resale to the English. By their monopolizing tactics they had succeeded in raising the price of pepper at Surat to double its former figure, and would probably make it as dear there as in Europe. The Company's letter did not give the quantity of indigo required; on learning this, the factors would arrange for a supply. Aloes were scarce, and olibanum would not be available till later in the year. Some good coffee was being sent in the *Return*. The complaints as to the quality of the former consignment were not understood, unless they were due to damage on board ship. The berries had been winnowed to free them from husks and dirt, and had then been picked over. The cotton wool animadverted upon was put in at the last moment to fill up. As for its quality,

It was such as this countrie affords; which these people keepe in the manner you sawe that, with its seede and fowleness in it, and soe sould; which afterwards the buyer causeth to be bowed or beate, that brings out all the dust and dirte and causes it to swell to five times the bulke.[1] But we hope to have noe more occation to send you anie of this commoditie.

Particulars were next given of the calicoes sent home. 'Dungarees' were not available, 'they being all made up in the countrie of Decan'. A good quantity of cowries had been supplied. The death was announced of

Our very good friend Mr. John L'Escailett, our minister. He was

[1] The reference is to the process of cleaning the cotton by vibrating the string of a bow in a heap of it. This separates the matted masses of floss, greatly increasing the bulk and shaking out the dirt (see Silberrad's *Cotton Fabrics Produced in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, p. 8).

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a sober pious man of exemplar life and conversation in the familie, that we doe much condole his loss, which we entreate you to supply. . . . There is a yeares sallery due to him, which we entreate you maie be paid unto his brother, Mr. George L'Escaliet, according to his desire. . . . He died the 28th of September last past, of a pestilentious feavour.

Nicholas Scrivener, who had been out of the service over two years, had also died (21 November), after appointing Goodier and James overseers of his estate. The indigo on hand could not be sent by this ship, as she was already full of other goods. The purser, William Reading, had died on the way out, and his mate, William Asten, had been promoted to that position. The wine sent out came both poor in quality and short in quantity; while the salt beef and pork supplied to the ship had proved to be uneatable.

With this letter the *Return* reached England safely in May, 1667. The President and Council did not write again to the Company until March, 1667.

Among the documents in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 61) we find an extract from a letter written from Surat at this time by some one unnamed, and evidently sent by the *Return*.[1] It is worth quoting, as giving the news then current. A few slight errors made by the copyist have been corrected.

Since the *Africans* and *St. Georges* departure there hath been noe conveyance from hence to Persia, nor 'tis thought will not this yeare; for all these parts of the world are imbroiled in war, as much as Eroupe. The Persian King hath entred for certaine above 500 miles into this King's countrey, hath had two notable victories over Oranzeeb's army, and taken the great city of Caubell;[2] in soe much that Oranzeebe hath throwne of his dervis coate, and gone with a vast army in person against him. The rebell Savagee some 10 moneths since yeilded himselfe a prisoner unto Rajah Jesson, on conditions that his life should bee secured. But at his appearance before the King, hee would have had him cutt in pieces; on which Rajah Jesson solemnly swore unto the King, that if Savagee died hee would kill himselfe immediately in his presence; after which the King spared his life, but committed him prisoner into the charge of Rajah Jesson's sonne [Rām Singh]; who with

[1] Printed by Professor Khan in *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations* (p. 485).

[2] These rumours were quite untrue.

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his father having given their word to Savagee that hee should bee freindly dealt withall, in case hee would submit to the King (for they could never have compelled him to it), and they finding the King, contrary to his word, endeavour to break their promise, took it soe hainously, that the son, with the father or through his meanes, gave Savagee opportunity to escape.[1] After notice of which coming to the King's eare, hee in a rage discarded the Rajah's son, who comanded 6,000 horse, and posted Rajah Jesson himself with a great strength to fetch him [i. e. Sivāji] againe. In which time the King of Persia entring his countrey, hee recalled the Rajah againe; and 'tis credibly reported in Surat that hee hath refused to come, and really thought that, having for the most part Gentues (?) in his army, hee will prove a mortall enemy to Oranzeeb. Alsoe Savagee's coming to Surat is much feared againe; insoemuch that report hath given him severall times to have been within a day or two dayes journey of the place; which hath caused sometimes 5 or 6,000 to pack up their aules and run out of the towne; and when another report hath given the first the lie, then they have crept in againe. But if hee comes, 'twill bee when the ships arrive from Bussora. The report goes here alsoe that Sultan Suza, Oranzeeb's elder brother, the King of Bengalla, residing in the Persian King's court,[2] was the cheifest instrument of his coming into this country, and that hee is in person in the army; as alsoe that the King of Golgundaugh and the King of Vitchapore (Bījāpur] are preparing to goe upon Oranzeeb's back. We have had noe certaine newes out of the Gulfe of Persia this yeare; onely a small vessell from Musckatt, and they on her have reported that the Bashaw of Bussora was routed by him of Bagdat, that Bussora was wholy taken, and the towne on conditions redelivered againe to the Arab, & that the shipping were as high as Cape Bardestone,[3] when, understanding the trouble there, they beat it back againe for Cong; and that after the Bashaw of Bussora sent to Cong and invited them thither. And more the King here hath sent downe positive order that noe ship whatsoever shall bee suffered to goe into the Gulfe of Persia, as wee heare that the King of Persia hath stopt all the junckes belonging to this port; which is the reason that they have had noe conveyance for their overland packett. Here hath not been yet the least newes of a Dutch ship this yeare upon the coast, and 'tis certaine that the Dutch will not give a passe for any vessell to goe downe the coast of India, by reason they will not have newes brought to Suratt of their bad succes.

[1] Manucci (vol. ii. p. 139) gives the same account.

[2] Shuja had been killed in Arakan, but several pretenders appeared from time to time, and one of these seems to have been received at the Persian court.

[3] Bardistān, about 90 miles south-east of Bushire.

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Wee heare here that they have lost Cucheene to the natives. Wee heare for certaine they have not had a ship from Europe since the war began. They have not bought a penny worth of goods this yeare in India. They have called all their ships from all parts whatsoever to Batavie, and how they fare thereabouts wee know not, but 'tis supposed that the longhaired China men with others are on their backes.

Here also we may take note of some intelligence given in a letter from Consul Lannoy at Aleppo to Sir John Finch, 12 January, 1667 (P.R.O.: *S.P.F., Turkey,* vol. 18):[1]

The Queene of Decan[2] in her returne from her pilgrimage to Muscat, was arrived at Basora; from whome the Bassa there forced 9 thousand tomans, or 30,000 pound sterling, to make good his present to the Grand Signor. . . . From Surat the English President writes me of the death of the old King Shaw Jehan,[3] whome his son Oran zeb some yeares since deposed and imprisoned ever since in his castle at Agra. The old Mogull being dead, this Oran Zeb that now governes hath made away all the rest of the family; and is removed from his throne at Dille towards his army, to prosecute the Decan warr.

In December came the news of a second battle between the Dutch and English fleets. At the beginning of June the latter, under the Duke of Albemarle, had, in the absence of Prince Rupert's squadron, been engaged by a much superior fleet under De Ruyter, and after fighting for three days had been compelled to retire with heavy losses. The result was given out in London as a victory and this intelligence was at once dispatched abroad; but the real facts soon leaked out. Writing on 26 March, 1667, to the Company, Oxenden and his colleagues said:

They [the Dutch] boast of nothing extraordinary they have achieved in these parts; but faine they would have a victory over us in Europe in June last. But the particulars of that bloudy encounter and the valiant resistance our countrymen made, being so few in number, against so powerfull a fleet of the enemyes, is very memorable, and gave us cause of thanksgiving for our deliverance and victory; the particulars of which wee received from the Consull of Aleppo, by way of Bussorah, which arrived to us the 10th of December. But wee had no sooner celebrated the good

[1] See also the Report of the Historical MSS. Commission on the Finch MSS., vol. i. p. 449.

[2] The Dowager Queen of Bījāpur (see the 1661–64 volume, pp. 88, 107, 343).

[3] The news was somewhat belated, for Shāh Jahān had died on 22 January, 1666.

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newes, and received the congratulations of our freinds, but the Dutch received their newes, and would by all meanes have the victory theirs. And finding the people gave no creditt to their report, to force their beleife made great preparations of festivalls; whereat they had bonefires, fire workes, and fireing of gunns a day and a night, for which they were sufficiently laughed at by all the sober partie of the towne.

An account of the action, and of the subsequent operations, during which the English fleet gained an important victory and inflicted much loss on the Dutch by a raid on their coasts, had been given in a letter dispatched overland by the Company to Surat at the end of August, 1666. This had not arrived when the passage quoted above was written; but since we are upon the subject, we may fitly cite it here.

Wee shall now give you what this yeare hath produced betweene the fleetes. His Majesties fleete, consisting of about 80 saile, being at sea and having advice that the French fleete, under the comaund of the Duke of Beaufort, were come out of the Straights for Rochell, there was a squadron of above 20 saile, under comaund of Prince Rupert, apointed to the westward, to joyne with 10 saile more of the Kings ships, to seeke for the Duke of Beaufort. In the meane time the Dutch, having intelligence that His Majesties fleete was devided, came to sea, and were discovered at an anchor off of Ostend. On Friday, the first of June, the fleetes engaged, with great inequallity; for though the English fleete with His Grace the Duke of Albemarle were not much above 50 saile and the Dutch 86, yet such was the eagernesse of the English that they engaged, and a very hot dispute continued Friday and Satterday. On Satterday in the evening the Dutch fleete was reinforced with the succor of 16 fresh ships; which caused our fleete on Sunday morning to stand over for our owne coast, being very much overpowred in nomber and their tackle much torne, hoping for the retorne of Prince Rupert with his squadron; whome it pleased God on Sunday in the evening came in and joyned with the Duke; whome the enemy endeavoured to intercept, and to that purpose sent out 30 ships, which the Prince waved and made up to the Duke. On Munday morning the Dutch fleete got out of sight, and the Kings fleete made after, and by eight of the clock came up with them and then engaged, and continued the dispute till foggy weather, and night aproaching, both fleetes parted. And though wee say that the Dutch first bore away before the wind, yet they will not acknowledg that they first retreated. In this engagement many ships were burnt, sunck, and taken on both sides. Amongst those lost

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by the English of His Majesties owne navy were the *Swiftsure*, comaunded by Sir William Berckley, and the *Essex*, both carried into Holland; the *Royall Prince*, comanded by Sir George Ayscough, runn on grownd on the Galloper Sands, and afterwards fired by the Dutch. And although in this engagement, notwithstanding the Dutchees great advantage, their losse of men and ships was esteemed more then the English, yet they have so boasted of a victory that they did not spare to publish it to all nations; and their fleete being got ready sooner then His Majesties, they came and lay upon our coasts. The Kings fleete being ready, the second engagement begun the 25th of July with equall nomber on both sides, vizt., about 90 men of warr, besides fireships; and after five or six howres close fighting, the greatest body of the enemy bore away toward their owne coasts, persued by twoe squadrons of His Majesties fleete; and on the 26th that body was totally broken and beaten into their harbours; whither, the 27th, the rest followed, broken and beaten in the same manner; His Majesties fleete remayning master of the seas and lying upon their coasts a long time, during which many of the Dutch merchants ships fell into their hands. In this engagement the English posessed themselves of twoe of the enemies great ships, the one a vice admirall of 60 guns and another of 66 guns, which they burnt. The English had only one ship burnt; out of which the captain and the men were saved. What more of the Dutch ships were distroyed is uncerteine, for that they endeavour to obscure their losse. On the 29th July His Majesties fleete waighed anchor from within sight of Zealand and steered their course for the Vly, but made not the island till the 7th instant. Being come to an anchor the Genneralls were informed that on the islands of Vly [Vlieland] and Schelling [Terschelling] there were storehowses, both for the States and the East India fleete, and riches to a good value, and also a considerable nomber of good merchants ships usually riding there; whereupon it was resolved by the Genneralls that there should bee a speedy attempt made, whereunto Sir Robert Holmes was apointed; which accordingly hee on the 8th and 9th instant put in execution with five fowerth rate ships, three fift rate, five fireships, and seven ketchees and long boates; with which coming into the Vly, where were riding about 170 merchants men (the least of which not lesse then 200 tons), with twoe men of warr, some from the Straights and East Country, some for Guinea and some for Russia etc., richly laden, Sir Robert comanded the *Pembrooke* (whoe drew the least water) and with the five fireships to fall in amongst the enemies fleete; one of which laid the biggest man of warr on board and burnt him right downe. Another fire ship laid the other man of warr abord, whoe escaped the present execution but was forced on grownd,

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and afterwards fired by the long boates. The other three fire ships clapped three great merchants men on board, which put all the fleete in a great confusion; whereupon comaund was given to man all the boates that could bee spared and to fall in and burne; which was accordingly executed, insomuch that the whole fleete, except 13 ships, were all distroyed; the losse whereof is estimated to amount to an incredible value, as the Dutch themselves expresse it. Having performed this memorable action, the next day he landed 11 companies upon the island of Schelling; where, leaving one company to secure his boates, they marched up three miles to the capitall towne, consisting of many hundred howses, and imediately fired it; which towne was reported to have beene very rich and so suited well with the soldiers desires.[1] The burning of the ships and this towne was performed without any other losse on the English [side] then of six men killed and as many wounded. Since the last engagement it is advised from Zealand etc. that the Dutch fleete came in very much battred and a great losse of men; which hath wrought a very great discoragement amongst them, their men being very unwilling to repaire on board their shipps againe. His Majesties fleete is still at sea, waiting the Dutchees motion, if they will againe come forth; to whome wee desire the Almighty, as hitherto Hee hath done, to give good successe and prosper; that so, either by an honorable peace or victory, an end may bee put to this unkind warr betweene neighbors and Christians, and wee thereby enabled to follow and prosecute our trade to your and other parts, as formerly.

The altered tone in reference to the war is noteworthy. In fact both nations were growing weary of the struggle, especially the mercantile classes, who naturally suffered severely from its effects.

EVENTS AT BOMBAY, 1666

OXENDEN'S correspondence with Lieutenant-Governor Cooke was continued on 12 January by a letter from the former, which contained a reference to the emissary from the Governor of Surat who was to proceed to Bombay to report upon the fortifications which were being constructed there (see p. 62).

Mamhood Syad . . . is still here in towne, waiting a second answer from the King about some things more that this Governour hath advised to court. . . . Wee very heartily thanke you for the kind

[1] The town was plundered before it was burnt. The loss to the Dutch, including the previous firing of their shipping, was estimated at a million sterling.

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invitation you make us,[1] though we are not in a condition to accept it, being tyed up to orders which we may not deviate from, lett this Governour use his uttmost malice, soe long as we are not turnd out of the country.

To this Cooke replied on 27 January:

When Mahmud Syhad arrives here, he shall be received according to the message he brings. But if oppertunity offers, you [may] let him and the Governour know that, allthough you are resident in their countrey, it cannot at all hinder me from following His Majesties orders in fortifying this place, allthough you should write to me to the contrary; and for their high words and threatning of you, that matters not at all. When he comes, I question not but to give him such a satisfactory answer that may please both him and his master.

The correspondence quickly lost its amicable tone, owing to Cooke's arbitrary seizure of a Surat vessel. The story is thus told in the letter from the President and Council to the Company of 16 March.

Wee must now prepare your patience to read a very uncouth, rash, and irregular attempt committed by His Majesties Governour of Bombaym, such as strikes att the utter obstruction of your trade, the losse of all your priviledges, and the greate dishonour of the King, the Honourable Company, and the nation. The story is thus. Sir Abraham Shipman . . . sent His Majesties pinke *Chessnutt* on his private accomptt of trade laden with goods for Bantam, consign'd to Mr. Humphry Cook, his then secretary, for disposall. In December, 1663, he return'd from Bantam, laden with some deare bought spices, China roots, etc., which were landed privately in Surat and delivered into a Banians hands for sale. The 5 January following the famous rebell Sevagy surprizd the towne, and in the generall destruction he made, this Banians house was burnt and therein (as he say'th) most of Sir Abrahams and Mr. Cooks goods, amounting, as falsely pretended, to rupees 8,615. This losse Sir Abraham Shipman resented very hardly, as being not well able to beare it. However, he was too wise to attempt any unjust action to repaire himselfe, but rather apply'd himselfe to this Kings ministers in a civill manner for redresse. In Aprill following Sir Abraham dyed, leaving the government and iland to the aforesaid Humphrey Cook, from whom we have received such continuall trouble in his dayly importunities for money to raise

[1] This refers to Cooke's suggestion (see p. 62) that, if the Governor of Surat proved too overbearing, the factors should remove to Bombay.

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souldiers, build forts, and we know not what other designes, that we have been weary of answering his letters; and upon our first denyall of his unreasonable demands we have received such indignities and opprobious termes, to the greate prejudice and dishonour of the Honourable Company and ourselves, that we want both words and leisure at present to expresse them, and him in his right colours. This man, finding that he could not prevaile on us to grasp any of the Honourable Companies money into his hands, resolv'd and declar'd publikely (as is attested by severall wittnesses) to doe the Honourable Company and us all the injury his malice could contrive, assoon as occasion did present, swearing by his unchristian oaths that the Company and we were the greatest enemies His Majestie had, and therefore soe he would deale with us, intending to involve us in all troubles imaginable. It hapned, to our greate grief, that a jounck belonging to this Governour and some merchants in Surat, which had the Companies passe, was bound from Callicutt, laden with pepper, cassia lignum, and two elephants, which, having mett with fowle weather off of Vingurla and spent their water, was forced to putt into Bombaym for water, little expecting soe rude and piraticall an entertainment, being the first Surat jounck that touched there. The aforesaid Governor Cook, apprehending this a fitt occasion to reake his malice on us, immediately seized on the jounck assoon as she came to an anchor, took her yards and sayles ashoare, abusing her pilot and people, pretending what he did was to repaire and recover the losse which His Majestie the King of England received at Surat in Sevagys robbery, which he affirms the Mogull ought to make good; to which import he dispatches pattamars to the Governor of Surat and to us, declaring in high and possitive termes that, unlesse the Governor doth send him downe 10,000 rupees and upwards, for the full import of his losse with intrest, he will neither part with ship nor goods, affirming further that he cares not how his money is raised for him, wheather the King of India, the Governor of Surat, or the Company pay it him; the money he is resolv'd to have, noe matter how. You may well imagin with what amazement and afflicting trouble we perus'd this first alarum of soe unparalell'd a peice of piracy (as we may call it), acted against all law or honesty, to the dishonour of His Sacred Majestie and your intrest here, and the involving your estate and the persons of your servants in endlesse embroyles and imprisonment. The Governor of Surat immediately summons the President to give him a reason for this strange illegall proceeding, demanding wheather we were friends or enemies: wheather he gave him his passe on purpose to betray his ship: and immediately calls for satisfaction. The President, being sick of the gout, could not attend him (and well it was soe,

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for otherwise he had been certainly imprison'd), but sends Gerald Aungier to acquaint him he knew nothing of it: that the seizure was done without his order or privity: that he was utterly ashamed of and disown'd it: that it was done by the Governor of Bombaim, who had a power independent of him: that neither he nor the Companies estate were lyable to answer it, but that he ought to demand satisfaction from the actors themselves, who ought to give him reason and justice therein, and that we were wholy unconcern'd in it. The Governor stormes at this answer, giving the Company and the President very abusive language, calling us pirates and theives, and sweares by his Mahomett that he will have satisfaction to a pice out of the Companies estate before any of our goods are laden, declaring this ship and goods were worth 70,000 rupees, and soe much he expects from us; and presently embargues all your goods and commands his Customer not to chopp any untill further order. The whole towne cry shame on us, and we ly under soe greate a scandall and reproach that none of your servants can stirr out about your businesse without publique affronts putt on us. The Dutch in the meane time, working on this advantage, have possessed the Governor with such prejudiciall thoughts of us that you are in danger to loose all your priviledges and freedome of trade, if some speedy course be not taken to repaire our lost reputation; to effect which, the President sends privately to the Governor, endeavouring by all faire and civill termes to convince him of our innocency herein, representing unto him the services which he and the Companies servants did the towne in Sevagys surprize: that he lent and sett out his ship at the Companies charge to convoy in the Kings jouncks from Mocha at his request: that the Company were honourable merchantts and had paid the Kings customes for above 60 yeares, and had often received injuries but had never offerr'd any to his people: and that it was unreasonable and unjust to dishonour them with any such unworthy termes, or force them to satisfy for the hostility done by others. His answer was that he did beleive in parte that the President was not guilty of it, but that would not satisfy his King, but that he and the Kings subjects must be indemnified and paid to the uttmost of their damage sustain'd, and therefore ord'red him to write to the Governor of Bombaym immediately to release ship and goods and send them for Surat; otherwise, whatever damage did accrew he would certainly make himselfe good out of the Companies estate, and in this he is possitively resolved.

A letter had accordingly been addressed to Cooke, begging him to release the vessel; but from previous experience the President and Council had little hope that he would comply. The Company

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was therefore urged to make representations to His Majesty to put a stop to such proceedings, as otherwise it would be impossible to carry on the trade. The letter continues:

Wee have not insisted on the Governor of Bombayms second letter, wherein he with a strange confidence demands the money from you, and an accomptt of what is graunted you by this King in your customes to be paid him for Sir Abrahams and his owne accomptt, but humbly referr it to your judicious deliberation how you please to proceed therein; resolving patiently to endure the utmost that his malice can impose on us, before we will part with any right or priviledge that justly belongs to you.

Cooke's second letter, to which Oxenden refers, was dated 21 February. He pretended that he had only just heard that the Emperor had remitted the customs duties for a twelvemonth to compensate the merchants concerned for the losses they had sustained. The amount thus remitted, he said,

Doth not belong neither to you nor the Company, but to the English that sustained the losses, which was only Sir Abraham Shipman and my selfe; for, allthough you are Cheife for the Companies affaires, I never heard that you were so for the English nation since wee arrived in India, for that belongs to His Majesties Commander in Cheife. . . . What custome the Companies goods inward and outward amounted unto, the mony should have been deposited into the hands of the Cheife for the English nation, to have reparted it to those that had received the losses, to which intent it was given. . . . It is generally reported the Company received no losse at all, only three bales of course cloth that was wanting on [the] Castle Green, which afterwards was found and only wanted some odd pieces that might import at most about 200 rupees.

Had Oxenden informed him of the Emperor's grant, as he ought to have done, Cooke would not (he declared) have seized the junk, and he must disclaim responsibility for any consequences.

The President and Council's answer (dated 1 March) to Cooke's two letters was moderate in tone but crushing in argument. It pointed out that his and Shipman's losses were incurred in private trade and could not 'be reveng'd by any single person, without the Kings consent first had and letters of mart to warrant him in the seizure of the estate of any nation or particuler person'. Cooke's disparagement of Oxenden's authority was answered by

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an appeal to the charter so recently granted by King Charles, and a belief was expressed that the latter would not approve of an act of aggression on such slender grounds. Cooke was reminded that he had not brought his claim to the notice either of the Emperor or of the Governor of Surat; and to have taken violent action in such circumstances was declared to be likely to ruin English trade and thereby to draw upon himself the displeasure of his royal master. The consequences, both to the factors themselves and to their employers' estate, were next dwelt upon, and he was earnestly begged to release the vessel at once. If he would do this, the President and Council would draw up on his behalf a petition to the Emperor for compensation for his losses, and would do their best to secure a favourable reply. The Governor could not, and would not, pay any money to redeem the junk. The assertion that the Company had lost nothing was emphatically denied; while as to the half per cent. remission in the customs duties, it had not yet taken effect, and when it did, it would be 'a nationall good, by which we make noe private advantage'. The suggestion that Cooke should be compensated out of the money saved by the Company, in consequence of the remission of a year's customs, was scouted as unreasonable; and the statement that he had only just heard of the imperial grant was declared to be incredible.

This letter had the desired effect upon Cooke, and in writing to the Company on 4 April the President and Council were able to announce that the junk had been released and had reached Surat in safety. In a letter from Cooke to Oxenden (12 March) he had declared that this was done in consequence of an assurance received from the Governor of Surat that he would 'see me satisfied the losse'; and he had rejected with scorn the President's offer to assist therein. In complaining to the Company of Cooke's attitude, the factors said:

This unexpected preferment of imputing himselfe Governor, and entitling himselfe Governor and Captain-Gennerall of all His Majesties forces by sea and land, hath soe swell'd him up that he is little better then distracted, doing nothing personally, but keeps himselfe mued up in a chamber (eating and drinking by himselfe), from whence 'tis said he hath not stirred out above twice since he came on the iland, being full of feares and suspitious of every body; that our doctor, and others that have lately seen him, report that

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he hath brought himselfe soe low in his body, and become soe frettfull and peevish, that hath made him not only very crazy in body but in mind also. What reason he hath to be thus malitiously bent towards you and us we cannot thinke, except it be because we furnish him not with unlimited summs of money. Otherwise, for peace and quietnesse sake, we have condiscended to him in all things reasonable, and passt by many of his peremptory and abusive letters, because we would avoyd all appearance of difference; and yet the more we beare with him, the worse he is. But we hope this next September at furthest will bring us a remedy of some honourable person, who will regulate all, and from whom we may expect protection when occasion shall require, in case His Majestie intends to continew the royalty of the iland. We have lately seen a letter to this Governor from the aforesaid Mr. Cook, wherein he most scornefully and slightingly speakes of you as the Company and us [as] your servants, upon freeing the vessail; telling them how inconsiderable we are and how that all the power and authority lyes in him; encouraging and perswading this Governor to force the said summe of 8,616 rupees, with its intrest from the time that Sevagy fired and robb'd the towne, from your President, Sir George Oxinden, and remitt it to him; and takes all opportunities to acquaint such that come on the iland from Surat that we have noe power to give passes (wittnesse the vessail he seized, notwithstanding she had our passe, which he slighted and made noe accomptt of), and therefore, if they would be secure, they must come to Bombaim and take them from him. And now we leave you to judge what a diminution this is in the management of your affaires, when our countrymen and His Majesties owne servants shall thus post us up everywhere to be of noe esteem, and, to shew their owne power and lessen ours, shall thus evill intreat this Kings subjects, in contempt of our passe given them; whereas it was wont to be to us in your affaires of greate use, and did keep all the merchants that traded in greate awe, as we have hitherto done the very Governors themselves, and likwise to give us great respect.

Cooke's seizure of the Surat junk was referred to in a letter from Gary at Bombay, dated 29 March, of which the original and a duplicate are in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 48, 50). This gives the date of the seizure as 18 February, and says that it was made in spite of Cooke's 'promise past unto the commaunder for a kinde and freindly reception and usage of him'. Gary blamed the action as endangering English interests, and used it to prove that the appointment of a fresh Governor was urgently necessary.

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We may perhaps assign to the same period an undated letter in the Public Record Office (*Ibid.*, f. 73), addressed by John Stevens, commander of the *Chestnut*, to the Navy Commissioners in London. He referred to Cooke's action in taking his officers and crew ashore and employing them as 'private centinells'. Cooke had refused to permit Stevens to leave the island and had 'this day' called upon him to take charge of the vessel again; but it was doubtful whether she could be repaired sufficiently to enable her to return to Europe.' The settlement was being fortified, and might stand 'a small seidge'. They had thirty guns mounted, of which eight belonged to the *Chestnut*. Every one was looking forward to the arrival of a new Governor. Stevens hoped that means would be sent to help him to return home.

On 2 April Oxenden wrote to tell Cooke that Dutch ships were gathering at Swally and that an attack upon Bombay was not improbable. Cooke replied (8 April) that in such an event he would make the best resistance he could, though the garrison was in 'a very sad condition', owing to want of money (for which he blamed Oxenden) and consequently of victuals.

> I have had in pay 40 Portugalls of Europe with our own men ever since December last, that I had the first newes of the Dutch assaulting of us; and now, if I had mony, question not but to procure many more.[1]

He therefore again solicited a supply of cash. To this (17 April) the President and Council answered that money would no longer be urgently needed, as the Dutch fleet had dispersed. The letter shows that the English and Dutch merchants at Surat were still on a friendly footing, in spite of the war.

> Occasion'd by the late Commandores[2] widdow going to Batavia, we received a visitt from them in generall, which their suddain departure causd us speedily to repay. At which two meetings we had, over a glass of wine, various discourse, from whence we learnt

[1] A letter from Consul Lannoy at Aleppo, 12 October, 1666, quoted in the Report on the Finch MSS. (vol. i. p. 438) says: 'The Dutch reported at Surat that they intended to assault His Majesties island of Bombain, which hath made Lieut.-Governor Cooke and his souldiers (being in number not many more then a hundred) to put themselves in a posture of defence; who have taken a resolution to defend His Majesties interest to the last man, and were drawing a line for their security to the landward.'

[2] Van Adrichem.

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that the report of their Gennerall Rickloffs coming hither was over, by reason of the latenesse of the yeare. His pretended businesse was to examin some wrongs done their Company by their brokers. And the 15 present went away six ships for Batavia; [so] that here is now but three remayning, and they making what hast they can to follow.

Oxenden and his colleagues took occasion to complain of Cooke's 'opprobious and unbeseeming language'; to which the latter retorted (19 May) that they had on their part spoken slightingly of him and the settlement to the Governor of Surat and other 'persons of quality'.

The letters that passed between Surat and Bombay during the next few months call for no comment. On 10 September, writing to the Company, the President and Council said:

Wee finde wee have not wrote you any thing of Bombay; and beleiving you may expect it, and the rather because wee have not received any letters or pacquets from Mr. Humphry Cooke, the present Deputie Governour, though wee timely prepared him to it by advice when wee intended to dispeed the ship. They are still in possession of the island, in expectation of our Kings Majesties further commands and a recruit of men and moneys. They are but few in number, about one hundred surviving of those that came out of England; to which have been added some seamen that your President discharged upon the sale of his ships *Royall Welcome* and *Hopewell*. But the men enjoy their health much better, now that they are seasoned to the country; yet severall of them drop away by sickness and other casualities of ill life. . . . If His Majestie intends to keepe it [i. e. Bombay], wee hope you have been mindfull of our request made in our former in making some provission that wee may live peaceably with those that shall have the government of the place; for in the end it is you that will be the sufferrers.

On this point the Surat factors were reassured by the letters brought by the *Return*, for in theirs of 7 March, 1666, the Company wrote:

Our Kings Majestie, haveing bin acquainted with what you have written concerning the proceedings of Mr. Humphrey Cooke and the rest of the soldiers at Bonbay, hath promised by the Secretary of State that effectuall directions shall bee given in letters . . . that a faire corespondency bee held with you and due respect given you, with comaundes that they act nothing tending to our prejudice or contrary to our charter by clashing with you or acting to the

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dishonour of our English nation. Soe that wee hope you shall receive noe further trouble or molestation from them.'

Cooke's position was a trying one. Short of money and stores, he had to pacify the discontented garrison as best he could, and at the same time to be on the watch for a possible attack by the Dutch; while any ships that might arrive from England with relief would probably bring some one to take his command from him. In point of fact, while he was squabbling with Oxenden and making enemies all around him, a new Governor was on his way to the island. As noted in the last volume (p. 334), the news of Shipman's death reached London in July, 1665. No ship would be sailing for India until about the end of the year at the earliest, and there was therefore no need for hurry in making choice of his successor; while the confusion caused by the Great Plague probably helped to delay the appointment. Evidently the idea of confirming Cooke in the post was not entertained; nor was it likely that it would be, considering his antecedents. Whether there were many applicants we do not know; but eventually, towards the close of the year, the choice fell upon Sir Gervase Lucas. He was the third son of Anthony Lucas, of Fenton in Lincolnshire, and was baptized there 28 July, 1611. He was a zealous Royalist, and it was doubtless for his services to the cause that he was created a baronet on 20 May, 1644.[1] Clarendon mentions him as having, in November, 1645, when Governor of Belvoir Castle, escorted King Charles during part of his journey from Newark to Oxford; and this is the only record that can be found of the part played by him in the Civil War. After the Restoration Lucas seems to have been employed for a time in connexion with the Crown lands; but this had soon ceased, and, having no wife or family to consider, he was probably glad to accept the Governorship of Bombay, though it was a post both dangerous and troublesome.

The appointment having been decided upon, Lord Arlington put into Lucas's hands all the papers he had concerning the island, and on 18 January, 1666, the new Governor submitted his observations thereon (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 4). He thought that the garrison should be made up to its original strength of four hundred men, though this would entail a cost of 7,371*l.* a year for the wages

[1] *Lincolnshire Pedigrees* (Harleian Society), vol. ii. p. 615.

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of the soldiers alone, apart from the expense of a chaplain, storekeepers, &c. It would also be necessary to send out provisions for eighteen months, besides ammunition and other stores. The expenditure upon fortification could not be estimated beforehand. Finally, Lucas suggested that the salary allotted to Shipman was not sufficient to maintain the dignity of the post of Governor. The vista of continuous and heavy expenditure thus opened up, at a time when the national finances were strained to the utmost by the war with the Dutch, was evidently unwelcome to the King and his advisers, and must have suggested doubts as to the desirability of maintaining so distant an outpost. The matter was next referred to a Committee of the Privy Council, consisting of the Duke of Albemarle, the Earl of Arlington, and Sir William Coventry, whose report was dated 26 March, 1666 (*Ibid.*, f. 35). They suggested that, as it was not certain whether Bombay still remained in the possession of the English, it would be unwise to incur more expenditure than was absolutely necessary; they thought, therefore, that it would suffice if a reinforcement of sixty soldiers, under a lieutenant, were sent. A ship and a ketch should be hired to carry them out; and this, with provisions for the recruits, would cost 7,752*l.*, reckoning the voyage there and back to last one year. Pay for an establishment of 120 privates, five officers, and a drummer, for eighteen months, would add 2,746*l.* 16*s.*; while for guns and ammunition 1,000*l.* was allowed; total, 11,498*l.* 16*s.* No provision was made for the salaries of the Governor, Deputy Governor, or any other civil officials, nor for the cost of food, &c., for the garrison. Lucas, five days later (*Ibid.*, f. 41), pointed out these omissions and further asked what sum would be allowed for fortification and contingencies, and what arrangements would be made for his return, supposing he should find the island in the possession of the Dutch. He suggested that expenditure at Bombay might be financed by means of letters of credit on the East India Company's servants; and he asked for two suits of armour, six cases of pistols, and twelve carbines. The decisions on these points are noted on the back of the paper. The desired arms were to be issued from the Tower; Sir George Oxenden was to be asked to facilitate Lucas's repair to Bombay and his return, if necessary:[1]

[1] The draft of a letter from the King to Oxenden, commending Lucas to his good offices

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the cost of fortification might be defrayed from a credit of 1,500*l.* to be arranged with the East India Company: while as for Lucas's pay, he might draw 1*l.* per day until the establishment was settled. The idea of sending out a special ship, as also of raising fresh recruits, was dropped, and it was resolved that Lucas should proceed in the Company's ship *Return*. In another memorandum of the same date (*Ibid.*, f. 42), Lucas asked for an order upon the Company to that effect, for his commission, and for detailed instructions as to civil government, particularly as regards claims to lands, &c., religious liberty, the right to navigate surrounding waters without interference from the Portuguese, and other matters.

A draft or copy (undated) of Lucas's commission, together with an uncompleted draft, will be found at the Public Record Office in the volume already cited (ff. 7, 10). He is appointed 'Our Governour and Commander in Chiefe of Our Port and Island of Bombaim', and is given power to place and displace officers, to ordain 'lawes and ordinances martiall', and to punish offenders by death or otherwise. We have also (*Ibid.*, f. 11) two drafts of his instructions (ff. 11–14). As soon as he was ready to embark, he was to cash a draft upon the East India Company for 1,000*l.* (to be paid out of money due to the King); half this amount might be spent on his expenses in the voyage, and the remainder should be reserved to pay arrears of garrison wages on arrival. He was directed to send home a full account of past expenditure on the island, with particulars of the existing establishment. In the event of the ship touching at any place where there was an English factory, Lucas should recruit any Englishmen he might find there unemployed, at the same time warning any others in the service of foreign princes to return home. Letters were handed to him, addressed by the Portuguese ambassador in London to the Viceroy at Goa, asking the latter to facilitate the recruiting of Portuguese for the garrison of Bombay, pending the dispatch of reinforcements from England; and in return Lucas was charged to be considerate in his dealings with the Portuguese inhabitants of the island. The task of fortification should be his first care; but when 'well settled', he should inform himself of 'the true interest of Our trade in those

and promising a grateful recognition of any assistance rendered to him, will be found at f. 43 of the same volume.

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parts, how at present managed, and what improvements it is capable of'. A gracious message from the King was to be communicated to the officers and privates, thanking them for their past services and regretting the sufferings they had undergone. Cooke should be informed of 'the good satisfaction Wee have in his late services', particularly in securing possession of the island; 'and as a marke of Our gracious acceptance of those services, you shall, if you find fitt, fill up the blanc commission[1] of Deputy Governor with his name preferably to any other'. Gary was also commended, and Lucas was advised to continue his employment.

Evidently considerable uneasiness was felt as to the possibility of Bombay and its scanty garrison falling into the hands of the enemy, should a serious attack be made; and in the same volume (f. 39) we find a letter from Sir William Thomson, Governor of the East India Company, to Lord Arlington (27 March), replying to inquiries as to the chances of obtaining help from the neighbouring princes. On this point the writer could see no grounds for confidence. The Great Mogul was not likely to render assistance, for his subjects stood in much awe of the Dutch power at sea. The Portuguese would be slow to involve themselves in hostilities which would only inflict further losses upon them; and even if they were willing, their resources were limited. A league with Sivāji would embroil the English with the Great Mogul and possibly with the ruler of Bījāpur as well. In fact, should the Dutch send a strong force, it was doubtful whether any external aid could save the settlement.

From the public archives we turn now to the records of the East India Company. In their letter of 7 March, 1666, to Surat, the Committees had mentioned that the King was sending out a Governor to Bombay in a special ship;[2] but on the 24th they

[1] A copy of this commission, dated 23 March, 1666, will be found at f. 30 of the same volume. Of course nothing was as yet known in London regarding the charges made against Cooke by Gary and others.

[2] In the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 121) is an unsigned and undated memorandum, evidently written in March, 1666 (possibly by Matthew Andrews), urging that the King should send out two ships of about 40 guns apiece to carry out reinforcements for the Bombay garrison and to prey upon Dutch commerce. It was suggested that the necessary sailors might be obtained 'to serve uppon the accomptt of noe purchase [i. e. booty], no pay'. The writer added that the Dutch in the East were so confident that they guaranteed all merchants putting freight goods aboard their ships against capture by the English; and that therefore no complications need be feared if such goods were confiscated.

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wrote that His Majesty had since changed his mind, owing to the lateness of the season, and had ordered them to find accommodation for Lucas in the *Return* as far as Goa. They desired the President and Council to afford him any necessary advice and assistance, and expressed confidence that they would find him ' to bee a person of that honnor and prudence as not to countenance or give protection to any of our refractory servants '. A letter sent to Captain Stanton at the same time ordered him to receive aboard the *Return* (then in the Downs) Sir Gervase and six attendants. We learn, moreover, from the Court Minutes that Stanton was authorized to buy about 25*l.* worth of fresh provisions and present them to Lucas in the name of the Company.

Another letter from the Committees, likewise dated 24 March, enclosed a copy of a recommendatory letter which had been given by them to Lucas,

> Enordring your keeping a faire corespondency, and to shew him the respect becoming his quallity and imployment; which wee doubt not but you will readily comply with. But as for lending any monies, wee shall not give our directions or orders, there being nothing intimated or desired of us in relation thereunto.

A week later, however, yet another letter was written, stating that, at the request of Lord Arlington, the Company had agreed to allow Sir Gervase, in the event of his finding Bombay still in English hands, to draw upon the Surat factors for any sums required for the use of the garrison, up to a limit of 1,500*l.*, giving bills of exchange in return at the rate of 6*s.* per rial of eight.

His more urgent needs being thus provided for, Lucas sailed in the *Return*, and duly reached Goa on 24 September. Here the duty of the Captain, in regard to his exalted passenger, ended, and Sir Gervase had to hire a small vessel to convey him to his post, Stanton (who had received an urgent summons to Surat) promising to keep company as far as possible. A letter from Henry Gary at Bombay, dated 30 November, now in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 59), announced that Lucas had reached the island on the 5th of that month.

> Hee having most miracolously escaped being taken by fower Mallabar fregatts; the captain and officers of the shipp *Returne* not haveing kept him company from Goa to this bay according to theyr promise.

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Gary did not blame the captain, who was only obeying his instructions to lose no time; but he pointed out how serious the consequences would have been, had the new Governor fallen into the hands of the pirates.

From a courteous letter addressed to Oxenden by Lucas on 9 November, it appears that the latter had intended, had the *Return* kept company, to go straight on to Surat from Goa, in order to make the acquaintance of the President and his Council and arrange matters with them before proceeding to his post. This having failed, he had sent Richard Ball to receive the 1,500*l.* which the Company had authorized the Surat factors to supply. Lucas calculated that (taking the rupee at 2*s.* 3*d.* and the rial of eight at 2·14 rupees) he should receive 6,230⅔ rials, and in payment thereof he had delivered to Ball a bill of exchange[1] on the Lord High Treasurer for 1,869*l.* 3*s.*; he intimated that the money might be delivered to Ball, but that the factors must bear the risk of its safe arrival at Bombay. Lucas assured his correspondent of his earnest desire to maintain the most cordial relations with the Company's servants and said that he had promised as much to 'severall worthy persons of that body'. He enclosed a letter for Gerald Aungier from his brother, Lord Aungier, and added:

Mr. Cooke hath writ to you about passing on the shipp *Returne* for Europe, in regard he hath not his health in these parts. I am very sorry to part with him so suddenly after my arrivall, in regard he is well accquainted with affaires in these parts; but being I must of necessity send one on board your shipp to give His Majestie an accompt of the condition of his affaires here, I am the willinger to let him goe, who is best able; and therefore desire you to give me timely notice when your shipp will be ready, that I may provide against the time.

This letter evidently crossed one from Surat of 13 November, of which no copy is extant. It seems to have conveyed the greetings of the President and Council to the new Governor, and to have intimated to him that, if he had any letters for England, he should send them at once to Surat, as the *Return* was to sail as soon as possible. To this Lucas returned an answer on 22 November, which plainly showed his annoyance. He could see no reason for haste in the dispatch of the ship, and the alleged danger from the

[1] Now in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 55).

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Dutch appeared to him illusory. He thanked them for information concerning three mariners from the shipwrecked *Love*, and desired notice of any other unemployed Englishmen who had not come out in the service of the Company, as he had instructions from the King to ' draw them hither '.

Meanwhile, on receiving Lucas's letter of 9 November, Oxenden and his colleagues had written again (16 November). They expressed great regret that, owing to the *Return* losing company with the Governor's vessel (' for which the captain seemes to bee much aflicted and protest[s] his innocence '), they had missed the opportunity of making Lucas's personal acquaintance. As regards the money, they were very willing to supply it, as desired, in ' dollars, halfe Sevill and halfe Mexico '.

> Onely wee find that the prizes of those species are misrepresented to you; for the standard of this towne and mint is very constant, admitting but one price, according to the specie, the Sevill yeilding but 214 and the Maxico rupees 211 per hundred dollars. . . . Another thing is, royals of eight being a comodity that all merchants are oblidged to bring into the mint (and indeed it is theire advantadge to have their mony coined with what expedition they can, to take them of from interest), wee have enquired and find it very difficult, if at all possible, to procure the said summe of royals of eight 6,230½ in that specie; wherefore we desire, in such case, you would please to accept of rupees, or chicqueens, if to be had.

They could find no warrant in the Company's letter for their bearing the risk of the money in its transit to Bombay, and they hoped that Lucas would waive the point; but, if he insisted, they would be glad to be allowed to remit in three or more instalments, in order to minimize the risk. Ball would await Lucas's answer on all these matters. Should the ship (' which, soe soon as laden, wee dare not detaine ') start before the reply arrived, they would send the bill of exchange to the Company, guaranteeing to pay over the money to Lucas in due course.

> Wee are very sorry wee cannot comply with Mr. Cooke, in appointing the shipp to call at Bombaim to take him in, not daring to stray soe far from orders in these perillous times; and wee very much feare hee will not bee able to arrive timely enough to us by land. Yet if he please to adventure it, wee will undertake he shall have the best accomodation the shipp can afford, though he hath

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not deserved it, neither from our masters nor our selves; but as a service to His Majestie, wee are readye to accomodate what we can.

A supply of medicines was promised, and the letter ended with the tender of our most cordiall and ready services'. The action taken was duly reported to the Company in the letter sent by the *Return*, which, as we have seen, sailed for England on 25 November.

The receipt of the Surat letter of 16 November caused Sir Gervase to indite a fresh one on the 24th, in a rather sharper tone. To the corrected rate of exchange for the rials of eight he made no demur; but he held stubbornly to the requirement that the factors should take the risk of the safe delivery of the money at Bombay, seeing that they were ordered to pay it to him, not to his assigns. Moreover, as the King was to repay at so high a rate, it would be manifestly unfair that he should bear any risks in the matter. The method of remittance he left entirely to their judgement. Their renewed yet indefinite hints that the *Return* might sail without his letters had much perplexed him, for surely they could have fixed an absolute date for her departure and then he would have 'known what to trust to'.

Your uncertaine dealing with me in this point lookes as if you had a mind the shipp should be gone before my letters could arrive with you; by which not any accompt can be given into Europe but from your selves, and so His Majestie kept ignorant of the true state of his affaires in these parts, which more imports His Majestie and kingdome then you yet seem to understand. I will yet hope my dispatches will arrive with you in time; which I shall be very glad of. Otherwise, you will give me just cause to suspect you play not faire above board, whatever your pretences be; which is not the way to beget or preserve a good understanding, either betwixt our selves or His Majestie and the East India Company your masters (as you call them). And therefore let me desire you that in all things of concerne hereafter you deale clearely, freely, and positively with me; which is the most noble and fit for gentlemen, and you shall never find me faile in it. . . . I assure you I have honest, honourable, and just intentions to His Majesties service and my countreys advantage, and hope I shall on all occasions find the same in you.

The receipt of these two letters, together with a packet addressed to the King, caused the President and Council much uneasiness, since they had no wish either to be embroiled in a quarrel with the

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new Governor of Bombay or to be represented to the King as having wilfully obstructed the transit of Lucas's letter to him. On 3 December they held a consultation,[1] at which it was decided to accede to his demands concerning the money; and on the following day they sent, by Richard Ball, who was returning to the island, a humble letter deploring the fact that Sir Gervase's packet had arrived too late to be forwarded by the *Return*, which, they intimated, had sailed before they had expected her to do so. They declared that they had received the most positive orders from the Company not to delay the vessel a moment longer than was necessary, in view of the risk of her falling into the hands of the Dutch; and,

> Allthough the enemy are not yet come in, they have been dayly and hourely expected by their owne party resident here in towne. That which raised the greater feares in us was her riding in the open sea, more then three leagues of the shoare, incompassed with shoales, that there was not any means to preserve her.

They protested that it was impossible for them, when writing before, to fix any particular date for her departure; and they implored Lucas to believe that they had not been actuated by any sinister motive, but were really devoted to His Majesty's service. They had given Ball bills of exchange on Bassein for 6,500 rupees, and had delivered the balance (6,833⅜ rupees) to the insurers to transmit to Bombay. The value, at an average of 212½ rupees to 100 rials of eight, would be 6,274½ rials. If Lucas cared to trust his letters to a conveyance overland, via Sind and Persia, they would make all the arrangements and defray the expense.

Six days later the President and Council sent, by another conveyance, a copy of the foregoing letter, adding a note of the news received that day from Aleppo that the English had obtained a 'very bloody yet memorable victory' over the Dutch (see p. 177). The sailors from the *Love* would be sent in a few days to Bombay.

The only information we have concerning the administrative steps taken by Lucas after his arrival comes from a small group of documents in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x). The first of these (f. 56) is a copy of a proclamation he issued on 12 November, stating that certain disaffected persons were circulating reports

[1] See Forrest's *Selections, Home Series*, vol. i. p. 210.

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that the island would shortly be returned to the Portuguese and that then any who had paid dues to the English might expect to be punished; a warning was accordingly given against the spreading of such rumours or any other tending to the discredit of the King's authority or discouraging the payment of revenue. The next item (f. 57) is a signed duplicate (received 15 October, 1667), of a letter from Sir Gervase to the King, dated 22 November.[1]

I arrived at Your Majesties island and garrison of Bombaim the 5th November; where I found all things in an ill frame, which creates me every day more and more trouble, by the souldiers complaints against Mr. Cooke, who I doe not finde in any respect a person of parts, nor capable of that honnor Your Majestie intended him by the blanck commission I brought along with mee for the Deputy Governour. Nor will it looke well at the present to put in Mr. Henry Gary his name (though much a worthier and abler person), in regard of the differences which are before me. I neither doe, or will, have partiallity or prejudice, but will, to the best of my knowledge, doe that which is just and fitt for Your Majesties affaires. The businesse is so confused [that] it is not fitt to give Your Majestie an account of it; but so soone as I can see thorrough it, I will prepare it for Your Majesties perusall. Your Majestie hath here a most noble harbour and a fruitfull island, of which I have given the best account I can, for the time I have been in these parts, to my Lord Arlington, Your Majesties principall secretary. When I know better and have time (which an East India Companies ship will never afford us here), I will use all diligence to let Your Majestie understand it, as my duty obligeth me.

Lucas's letter to Lord Arlington, unfortunately, is not forthcoming; and we go on (f. 59) to Gary's letter of 30 November to an unnamed correspondent, of which a portion has already been quoted. He refers to

His Majestys affaires haveing been for some time before the Governours arryvall in a distracted condition. . . . But now all former irregularities and disorders have theyr periods, Sir Gervace Lucas haveing made soe good a progresse in all matters whatsoever that there is allready a wonderfull reformation uppon this island, unto the great content and satisfaction of all His Majestys faythfull and loyall subjects.

Gary then mentions a brief letter he has sent to Lord Arlington (not extant). Lucas has not yet intimated to him anything about

[1] Sent via Persia and Aleppo on 30 November.

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the employment alluded to by his correspondent (evidently that of Deputy Governor); but as Cooke is going to England shortly, Gary hopes soon to be ranked among His Majesty's servants, especially as he has now served four full years at his own charges and has given up both the Company's employment and his own private trading. He begs that this may be represented to Lord Arlington.

Lucas's investigation of Cooke's past proceedings quickly produced a breach between them, and the latter seems to have been forbidden to leave the island until he had given a more satisfactory account. This led to a protest on his part, the terms of which are not on record; but of the Governor's answer, dated 15 December, we have no less than five copies (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 63–9). In this Lucas says that, having examined Cooke's proceedings, he has found him guilty of unworthily extorting from several inhabitants of the island divers sums amounting to 12,000 zerafins and upwards,

> And under your owne hand gave it to bee for the use of His Majestie, but never had the honesty to bring it to His Majesties credit; which, notwithstanding I had charged you therewith, you were soe bold, not to say impudent, as to denye the receipt thereof and appropriating it to your owne perticular accompt, and persisting by your sayd denyall untill I had proved and made evidently appeare that you had receaved it, and for the sayd money, I saye for the major part thereof, produced your owne hand as witnesse against you.

Lucas professes his willingness to 'smother severall barbarities by you here perpetrated'; but he must demand an account of Shipman's estate, on behalf of the latter's daughter and executrix, Elizabeth Shipman, whom Cooke has 'had the conscience' to charge 15 per cent. 'for commission and registring money', amounting to 663*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*[1] Until he undertakes to pay this sum to the executrix, and gives a satisfactory account of the whole estate, he cannot be allowed to leave the island.

Lucas's report upon his dealings with Cooke is contained in his letter to Lord Arlington of 2 March, 1667 (*ibid.*, f. 98). In this he says that he found two items to object to in Cooke's accounts.

[1] At this rate Shipman must have left 4,425*l.* 15*s.* in India. Most of it was probably acquired by private trading.

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In the first place the latter had claimed pay as Governor (i. e. at 40*s.* a day) from the death of Shipman. Lucas refused to allow more than the 12*s.* a day which Cooke was entitled to draw as Lieutenant-Governor.

The other objection I had against his accounts was I discovered him to have received about 1100*l.* upon pretence of His Majesties service, which he converted to his owne use. He seemed much discontented at my proposition, but I assured him I could not allow of these two particulars, neither would I part with him till he had paid the 1100*l.* into His Majesties receipt, which after some debate he did; and on the 17th December tooke his passage for Goa, from whence he intended for Europe. I likewise received of him, upon account of fraight for His Majesties vessell, the *Chesnut* pinke, six hundred forty two pounds, for a merchants voyage he alleadgeth Sir Abraham sent to Bantum, and he chargeth the payment of it upon Mistress Elizabeth Shipman. I told him it was indifferent to me who paid it, so His Majestie did not loose it. So that in all I received of him 1,742*l.* in commodities for His Majesties use, and cut him of 1,300*l.* as debt he pretended upon His Majestie. . . . He is not without some hopes but His Majestie will allow him the 40*s.* a day; but when he arrives at Whithall, you will not finde him a person of parts or so much merit. And to speake truth, he hath much foiled and dishonoured His Majesties goverment here in its infancy, by takeing severall bribes to let His Majesties right passe unquestioned; 250*l.* of which money hee received I have paid back againe since my arrivall here, out of such commodities as I received of him; by which I have freed His Majesties just pretence to the title of fishing and other rights which I have taken into custodie and, I hope, will yeeld His Majestie three hundred pound a yeare.

THE MALABAR COAST, 1666

The correspondence between Surat and the two remaining factories in these parts opens with a letter of 10 January from the President and Council to Kārwār, directed to Robert Master, of whose death they had not yet heard. The factors were cautioned to beware of the malice of the Hollanders, 'whose losses make them feirce as a bear bereaved of her whelps', and not to trust to the favour of the King of Bījāpur or Rustam Zamān, 'for they are all the slaves of bribes, and money will incline them any way'. No effort should be spared to recover Mahmūd Khān's debt.

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Should attempts be made to force the English to pay 'any taxes imposed on the country', they should secretly transfer their goods to 'some secure place out of their jurisdiction' and then follow themselves, refusing to return except upon assurances of future immunity. The horses should be sold. As for removing into the new house provided for them, the factors should remember that presents might be expected on their doing so, that furnishing would be expensive, and that the acceptance of the building would entail 'an obligation we shall hardly deserve in what trade that place doth affoard'. On the whole, it would be well for them to remain where they were for the time being. Papers were forwarded containing an account of the English naval victory over the Dutch, which should be made known to 'the people of the country'

Philip Giffard and Caesar Chamberlain, the two remaining factors at Kārwār, wrote to Surat on 15 January, sending their accounts and reporting that

Wee have sold neither cloth nor lead, merchants not daring to buy, the countrey being in such an uprore. All Viziapore [Bījāpur] merchants are runne away, the Mogull having brought his army within three course [*kos*] of said citty; which hath caused this King to shut up all the gates but one, filling them with stones and rubbish.[1] There hath been but one fight as yet, in which severall persons of note on this Kings side fell and 700 returned wounded. All townes within four or five gow of Viziapore were laid wast by the King before the Mogull approached so neare. Water in the citty is ¼ of a Sung[a]r pagoda[2] per pot allready. The King, its thought, is with Rustum Jeamah without in the camp, where [he] hath about 35,000 horse and 50,000 foot. The King would have sent away his wifes, but the Viziers of the countrey would not consent unto it. He prepaires much to fight them. . . . Its a very sickly yeare all hereabouts. Wee have 22 or 23 sick together belonging to our house. And besides, all things are so deare and scarce that wee can hardly get provisions. At Goa they are in the like or worse condition. Wee cannot by any meanes heare what is become of Sevagy. . . . His people here below the hill are very quiet as yet, the Kings governors being in Vingurla [and] Coodall, and his at Rajapore and Carapatan [Khārepātan]. At Vingurla the Dutch and these people are fallen out, the Governor demanding their broker and they denying delivering him. The

[1] For an account of the campaign see Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, vol. iv. p. 111.

[2] See the 1655–60 volume, p. 243.

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first beginning of this difference was this. Sevagy having taken their brokers shipp, Mahmud Ecles Caune recovered it, keeping it for himselfe; but since his going to Viziapore the Dutch seized on it againe; which so hath so incensed the Governor that he pretends to doe much against them.

On 19 February the President and Council answered this letter and the earlier one of 1 January (see p. 87). They lamented the death of Robert Master and intimated that his brother Streynsham would look after his estate. As regards news,

Report goes here that those of Vizapore have fallen on some parte of Rajah Jessons army, over whome they have had a greate victory, taking them upon a disadvantage, and said to be decoyed in by Sevagy, that they lost neare 14,000 men and were beaten back many myles; and this is that which ([it] is said) Rajah Jesson is incensed against Sevagy for. The burning of Banjee Revadas vessail came hither long before, but not in manner as those laskars report it to you; but was fired in harbour, with consent of the owner, that contrived it before hand, having (as report goeth) taken up a greate avog[1] upon her. And this is said to be his common practice, buying old vessails for a small matter and letting them out for lesse, he orders their casting away, making his gaines here at home by the insurers.

The factors' expenses were declared to be too high, considering the absence of any trade profit. Giffard was confirmed as head of the factory in place of Master, and his want of health was regretted. The deer collected by the late Chief were intended partly for presentation to King Charles and partly "to be sett ashoare to breed at St. Hellena"; but if there was no chance of getting them to Surat and the expense of feeding them was found to be excessive, they should be sold. The goods remaining should be disposed of at low rates, if necessary, as it was undesirable to have them on hand in such perilous times.

The references in the foregoing letter to the defeat of Jai Singh's army by the forces of the King of Bījāpur are elucidated by a passage in a letter written by Sir George Oxenden on 17 February, apparently to the English Consul at Aleppo (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. ix. no. 143).

In the foregoeing letter I advised you that the Decan King had

[1] See the 1655–60 volume, p. 235 *n*. In a letter of 26 November, 1669, 'bottomry' is given as the equivalent.

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made peace with the Mogull and was sending his tribute mony; which would not be accepted, but caused his army to march forward against Vizapore, the metropolis of Decan. Within 12 miles of which citty the Decan army encounters them, overthrew them, and slaine 14,000 men and some Umbrawes of qualitie, and the army retired further back. This Kings generall charges the losse of the battle upon the treacherie of Sevage, who ledd the army into streight passages, where the enemy fell upon them; and it is reported he hath secured Sevage.

On 5 March the Kārwār factors wrote again, in reply to the Surat letter of 10 January, which was all that they had then received. They reported that Giffard had been to Mīrjān and had obtained from Mahmūd Khān a quantity of pepper on account of his debt, besides a promise of payment of the remainder. They had sold the Turkey horse for ten 'Sungaree' pagodas, 'he being about 25 yeares old and allmost spent'. They would put off removing to the new house until further orders. The news of the English victory was very welcome. If the next intelligence should be equally good,

Then wee hope the Dutch will leave putting themselves to such unnecessary charges as feasting at Vingurla etc. so much as they have lately done, for their good successe over the English. Wee have wrote Rustum Jeamah the newes; who seemes to beleive it, but wee have a great deale of reason to suspect the contrary, the Dutch feasting it so, as they doe, which he must needs heare.

Apparently this letter, for want of conveyance, was kept until 24 April, when it was dispatched together with a fresh one, occasioned by the receipt of the Surat letter of 19 February already mentioned. The factors were in more cheerful mood. Giffard had recovered his health; all the broadcloth had been sold, and they were negotiating for the disposal of their stock of lead. Some news from Goa was also given.

There is a shipp arrived at Goa from Portugall, which brings newes of a new Vice-Roy to arrive there in May; as allso that His Majestie of Portugall hath sent for Don Emanuell de Lopo home; upon which newes he is fled and setled upon Anjedeva. How he can expect to secure himselfe there, wee doe not understand. By reason of the seige of Punda[1] provisions in Goa are so scarce that

[1] Ponda (see the last volume, p. 242).

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poore people are ready to starve. . . . The want of provisions hath made it a very sickly time there.

In this letter the factors enclosed an interesting paper containing 'Decan newes', which merits quotation in full.

In our last wee wrote how report runne of Sevegys being retaken; but since know the contrary. For in a battle between the Mogulls and this countrey people he runne away, being afeard that Dillar Caune [see p. 87] (a great Vizier of the Mogulls) would put him to death, he having told said Vizier that he would take Viziapore in ten dayes time; upon which perswasion he set forwards with 20,000 horse, but to his cost he found the contrary, being forced quickly to retire, after he had first seen his only sonne killed by Serja Ckauns own hand.[1] This was the battle that wee suppose Your Worshipp etc. speaks of [see p. 202]. The Mogulls lost but about 300 men in all. Sevagy in his flight burnt down all this Kings townes that he passed through, till he came to Panella; which castle he thought to take by a wile, having over night sent them word within that the King was comming and therefore they should keep the gates open; which they upon some suspition denying to doe, he thought to carry it by storme; but being repulsed, with the losse of 500 men, he came down the hill againe to Kelna,[2] a castle within 5 gow or 30 mile of Rajapore; where Nettagee and he fell out, they say. But whether they quarrelled, or there was some other mistery in it, wee cannot tell; but Nettagee left him, and went to the King of Viziapore; where he having behaved himselfe outwardly to the King's content, he bestowed on him three lack pagodas yearely, and sent him upon the borders of the Mogulls countrey to defend what he had given him, said doulet [*daulat*] or estate lying thereabouts. When he had taken said countrey into his possession, he wrote to Rajah Jessun to send him men to keep it, intending nothing lesse then loyallty. Upon which said Rajah sent him some men, which (having order from said Rajah) seized on him and carried him prisoner to the Mogulls camp, where some say that he was cut of, others that he continues still a close prisoner.[3] After Nettage had left Sevage (as wrote formerly) Sevegy sent about 2,000 men and beseiged Punda, a castle of the Kings lying hard by Goa, which he beseiged two monthes and lost about 500 men against it, but at last brought it to a composition; the beseiged having promised to deliver it up in six houres time, desiring so much to pack up what

[1] This was untrue.

[2] Khelna (see the 1655–60 volume, p. 359).

[3] As a matter of fact Netaji seems to have been lured back to the Mogul camp by Jai Singh's promises, and he was not arrested until October 1666.

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they had, which, according to agreement, they were to carry out. Now upon Sevegys running away from the Mogull, this King sent Sidde Mushud [1] (Sidde Joar's sonne in law) with Sidde Joars sonne and Rustum Jeamah, they having in all 5,000 horse and 1000 foot, against Sevegy, who at that time lay about the top of the hill,[2] towards his own countrey; which Sidde Mushud hearing, desired Rustum Jeamah to set forwards with him and try if they could surprize him; which Rustum Jeamah outwardly consenting to, they set forward. But when they came nigh, Rustum Jeamah beat his drums and sounded his trumpets, and thereby gave Sevegy warning time enough to looke about him; notwithstanding all which, Sidde Mushud, but with 600 choice horse, so persued him that he cut of about 500 horse and 100 foot, and so returned. In the way he met a jessud [*jāsūd*, a messenger] with letters from Sevagy to Rustum Jeamah, which he seized on and sent them immediately to the King; which when the King had perused, he wrote to Rustum Jeamah that, by the intercession of some freinds, he had pardoned him this time, but let him looke to it: if he did not raise the seige [of] Punda, it was the last imployment he should expect ever. This letter put Rustum Jeamah into such a feare that immediately he wrote to Mahmud Ckaune to leave no means unattempted whereby he might raise the seige. Upon which Mahmud Ckaune, getting together a small army, he went and sate down in a town of his masters about three miles of this castle, and sent the generall of Sevagy word he was only come to looke after his own countrey; which the said generall beleiving (as he had no cause to suspect the contrary, knowing what intimacie there was allwayes between his master and Rustum Jeamah), ventured the next day to goe to his prayers, with all his Mooremen, on the top of a hill a mile of the castle, according to their custome, it being their Cootba [3] holliday, as they tearme it. Now this was the day (as formerly wrote) that the castle was to [be] delivered; which Mahmud Ckaune well knowing, after he thought the Moores were gone to prayers, he set out with all speed possible and came upon the rest of the camp time enough to rout them before the other could come to their assistance; and so thereby facilitated his victory over the other part when they came down the hill; whereby he raised the seige, the poore men therein having eaten leaves for three dayes together. Notwithstanding this strategeme Mahmud Caune was hardly put to it, being forced to fight and retire two or three times himselfe in person before he got a totall victory. This businesse, its generally thought, hath quite broke the long con-

[1] Sidi Mas'ūd. His companion was probably Sidi Azīz (see the last volume, p. 243).

[2] i. e. in the Bālāghāt.

[3] This seems to refer to the *khutba* or sermon delivered every Friday.

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tinued friendshipp between Rustum Jeamah and Sevagy. Rustum Jeamah hath taken now Punda, Cooddall, Banda, Suncle, and Duchele [1] (five townes of note) from Sevagy, though as yet Rustum Jeamah himselfe is not come down the hill, but expected every day. They say the King hath given him as farre as Rajapore; which if he can keep, he will quickly grow a great man. Siddi Mushud lies as yet about Collapore, to secure all the countrey thereabouts. About 20 dayes since Serja Caune set upon part of the Mogulls camp; where, his sonne being inclosed by the enemy, he, indeavouring to rescue him, saved his sonnes life with the losse of his owne; which without doubt is a great losse to the King, he being the only man that hath in a manner withstood the Mogull hitherto. Generall report now goes that Sevagy is gone to Orungzeeb with very large presents; how true it is wee know not. In the time of the seige of this castle of Punda wee were severall times in great feare, there being but 30 mile between us and part of the army; whereby wee were forced to keep men in a readinesse to transport the Companies estate, [if] occasion should be.

The packet containing the two letters did not reach Surat until 28 May, and on the 8th of the following month the President and Council sent a brief reply, thanking the factors for the news they had given and imparting some in return.

There is then a break until 5 September, when Giffard and Chamberlain resumed the correspondence from Hubli. They had heard of the loss of the *Love* from Hinmers and Evans at Goa, who had also declared that the ship belonged to King Charles and that Sir Martin Noel and Matthew Andrews were only his agents. A paper (now missing) of news about Sivāji was enclosed; and the letter ended with an account of the factors' retirement from Kārwār.

Rustum Jeamah being made Generall against Sevagy, according to his dayly practices kept in with Sevagy and yet made the King believe he did what possible against the enemy; but underhand delivered up Reingna,[2] a strong castle, to Rougy Pundit, bordering upon Coodall; which so incensed the King that he enordered him and his to be put to the sword, but by the intercession of friends he is permitted to goe to Viziapore to plead for himselfe, and wee believe it will goe hard with him. If he escapes, he hath better fortune then many an honester man. Let what will happen, wee are glad wee are out of his clutches. The reason of our retiring to

[1] For Bānda and 'Duchele' see the previous volume, pp. 121, 237. 'Suncle' may be Sāngli (*ibid.*, p. 237).

[2] Rangna, a strong fort about 55 miles south-west of Kolhāpur city.

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Hubely was this. Rustum Jeamah, having an army of about 2000 men at Punda and being in great want of mony to pay them, tooke up what mony possible he could to defray his charges of souldiery; which proving short of what due to them, he begun to think of us, and so wrote to his sonne to borrow 1000 pagodas of us; upon which his sonne wrote to us about it, but in such a commanding way that, according to reason, wee could judge no otherwise by his stile then that, if we scrupled to lend it, he would not to take it; which wee having seriously considered, as allso dayly hearing that Rustum Jeamah was much out of favour, durst not trust him. So the 23th of July wee set out, and in six dayes got hither; the Decy [Governor: Mahr. *desāī*] thereof dayly threatning to plunder it (but wee hope better).

Soon after their arrival one of their two horses died; and, in view of probable emergencies, they bought another for about 100 pagodas. They had with them in ready money over 12,000 pagodas, and were daily expecting 'to be forced to runne away'. They would have written sooner, but Giffard had been too ill. 'Our new house that Rustum Jeamah built for us [at Kārwār] is fallen downe, in a great storme of wind and raine'.

To this letter the President and Council replied on 17 October. After mentioning the escape of Sivāji from Agra and the alarm excited at Surat by his renewed activity, it stated that this

Gives us cause to doubt whether some thing of this nature may not allsoe reach you; to prevent which, and those other inconveniencys you are exposed to by the civell comotions in those parts, wee have resolved[1] to draw you off, togeather with the Companies estate, for the present, and allsoe pitcht upon Goa to bee the nearest and convenientest place most secure and free from danger. Wherupon, at receipt of these, wee require you to enter upon contriveing the safest and securest way to convay your selves and the Companies estate to Goa.

It was left to the factors to decide the date and method of removal, but speedy action was urged.

The factors, however, as we have seen, had already departed before the letter arrived. Writing to the Company on 24 November, the President and Council said that the factors

Have bin forced to flye thence; elce they had bin plundred by

[1] See a consultation of 15 October, printed in Sir George Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series*, vol. i. p. 207.

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the neccessities of the partie that ow[n]es the porte. To prevent which they escaped to Hubely, and there, finding themselves in noe better condition, the countrie being all in flames, they were forced to escape with theire lives and your estate (which is to the amount of 50,000 rupees) to Goa, where they are now, awaiting our order, which is sent them, to make over the monies to us by exchainge (the better to ease you at intrest) and contrive the safest meanes to convaie themselves to us with what hast they can. For the whole coast alonge is noe place to trust either your servants or estates, but must waite for more peacable times; and then they are soone resetled, if the trade bee worth it, which this factorie hath not deserved since wee came last to India; [so] that glad wee are in your behalfes to finde our selves soe well acquited of it.

The sequel is given in another letter of 26 March, 1667, which shows that the factors had reached Surat, though the date of their arrival is not stated.

Your servants Mr. Gyffard and Mr. Chambrelan, that were at Carwarr, are retourned to us. They saw cause to leave that factory; the disturbances in the country arrising to a greater height then other every day, insomuch that there was no government left amoungst them, but that hee who is strongest might plunder any towne or village and not be questioned for it. Besides, all those parts thereabouts are destroyed, that the whole course of commerce is quite lost. Wee have received bills of exchange upon Cambaya and this towne for the amount of what moneyes you had in cash; which, when due, wee hope, will be honestly paid us.

Thus ended, for the time being, the Company's settlement at Kārwār. Before passing away from the subject, reference may be made to a document contained in the volume of Kārwār records devoted to that factory. This is in Persian[1] and English, and purports to be a copy (made in 1718) of 'articles of privilidges granted the English at Carwarr anno 1666' by 'Agau Murcud, Chiefe Governor of the dominions possessed by Sedushee Naiq, Raja of Sundah'. On the examination of the Persian text by Mr. C. A. Storey, it was found, however, that the date given therein was 14 Zulkada, A. H. 1069, i. e. 24 July, 1659 (O.S.), and that the concession was granted by Āgha Murshid, Governor of Kārwār, on behalf of Ali Ādil Shāh, King of Bījāpur, to Randolph Taylor and Philip Giffard. It guaranteed the English free trade:

[1] In two parallel columns, one in Persian characters, the other containing the Persian text in Marāthi characters.

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fixed the customs dues at 1½ per cent. on imported goods (treasure being free from duty); pledged the Governor to assist in the recovery of debts: gave permission to the English to administer justice to their own servants: and conceded other usual privileges. As regards the building formerly occupied by the factors, which was described as small and inconvenient, it was stated that they had obtained leave from Rustam Zamān to build another, but this was prevented by their departure for Surat. During their absence part of the building they had occupied fell down; and on their return, a grant for repairs was made of 250 pagodas, to be deducted from their customs. The 1659 records[1] are silent as to the circumstances in which this concession was obtained; but we find that in July 1659 Revington was encouraged from Surat to negotiate for the establishment of a factory at Kārwār (see the 1655–60 volume, p. 236). Probably it was the outcome of a mission sent by Revington in anticipation of sanction.

We must now go back for a while and follow the fortunes of the two Englishmen at Calicut, Smeaton and Barbor. Their letter of 1 January, 1666, already noted (see p. 100) did not reach Surat until 22 February, and the President and Council replied on 5 May. They expressed some dissatisfaction at finding so little profit made out of the cotton and opium sent, seeing that the Dutch derived great gains from those commodities. A promise was given that another broker should be sent, if possible; but it was stated that great difficulty was being experienced in finding one willing to go. It was hoped that the recent English victory would encourage the King of Calicut to protect the factors against any violence on the part of the Dutch. Their accounts had been found unsatisfactory, for whereas in the Surat books the fanam was always reckoned at one-fourth of a rupee, the factors had brought everything to account at 3¾ fanams to the rupee. In future they must enter everything in both currencies. Other errors were pointed out; and with this the letter closed.

On 23 June the Calicut factors wrote to Surat by way of Kārwār to report the course of events.

> The 15th past departed this life our late Samorin; in whose place succeeds a Rajah both deafe and dumb. With such a pilot

[1] They are incomplete at this period, the Surat register of letters received being missing.

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how our shipp will be navigated, time must determine. It hath been our happinesse hitherto to be preserved from the hands of our enemies, who forced the late Samorin to passe a solemne promise to them for the sending us hence by the English shipp expected in October next; to which if he had not consented for the present, or if (then living) had not comply'd therewith at the time praefix'd, the Governor of the place assured us it would have occasioned a generall breach with them, which might prove the ruine of himselfe and subjects, and that to maintaine the safety of two perticuler persons (not regarding the interest of the Honourable Company to be concern'd therein) was not a sufficient ground to begin a warre with them; especially since these Moores are so incensed against us, upon the sole score of the refusall of the Dutch to give a passe to any Mallabarre vessell during our aboad in this place or port; and moreover, as they have noised it abroad that the English have joyned with the Portuguezes in the seizing upon severall of their vessells lately bound for Broach and Surat. Wherefore the Governor, by order and in behalfe of the Samorin, severall times (as a well wisher to the preservation of our honourable masters estate, as well as our owne persons) earnestly requested us to advise Your Worshipps thereof, that so some meanes or other may be contrived to fetch us of, as well as the goods wee have in warehouse upon the accompt of the Company; unlesse there should be some considerable force sent out from England into these parts to coole the fierce rage of our inhumane enemies gainst us. If this was unevitable to prove our doom, had the former Samorin been yet alive, Your Worshipp[s] may easily determine what will be now our fortune under the present government; which must be with patience to behold the Companies estate seized upon and sent to Cochin, and our selves to be violently arrested and sent prisoners to the same place, if, in case of no English shipps proceeding to this port in October next, you doe not provide for the safety and reliefe of both.

Upon two occasions the imprisoned factor Grigby [1] had written to them for money, and they had supplied him with ten sequins. They regretted that the hostility of the Portuguese towards the Zamorin had cut off intercourse with Surat and thereby prevented the arrival of a new broker. However, they had sold their cotton and opium, partly for money and partly for pepper, to be delivered after the rains. They were on the look out for cassia lignum, but

[1] A letter from him dated 27 February reached Surat early in May. It stated that, owing to his ill-health, he was being permitted to remain at Cochin for the present, and begged for news.

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as yet could not find any that was satisfactory. They were building a new warehouse for their pepper, adjoining the present one, which was full.

Before this letter could come to hand the President and Council found an opportunity to write again to Calicut (23 July). The letter was chiefly occupied with news from England, such as the diminution of the Plague and the progress of the war with Holland. Many Dutch ships had been captured;

Amoung others two of their East India fleet, the vice and reer admiralls of 11 or 1200 tunns each; whose cargaes were delivered to the East India Company to dispose of for His Majestie, unto whome they rendered an accompt of 300,000*l.* sterling, besides copper and salt peeter, which His Majestie reserved for his owne occations. One of the said fleet they sunk; five gott into Holland; and foure returned to Christiana in Denmarke. All their convoy, which were seven ships of great force, taken, and therein D'Ruyters brother in law, who commanded a ship of 72 pieces [of] ordinance. D'Ruyter is got safe into Holland, and made their Generall. Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albermarle were to proceede on our fleet. Great preparations were making on both sides against the spring.... The Prince of Munster is fallen with an army into theire countrey and possessed himselfe of severall places of strength, some whereof were unjustly detained from him for many yeares. Our Kings Majestie assists him with money, and the King of France the Hollanders with men. Divers other princes are concerned in this difference. There will bee notable worke this summer.

The factors were not to expect a ship this year; but they were urged not to be discouraged, but to 'waite with patience for better times', taking care to secure themselves and their goods from the Dutch.

Little more than a month later the gloomy prognostications of the Calicut factors were fulfilled. War had broken out between the Dutch and the Zamorin, and an attempt was made to force the English to participate. The story of the factors' arrest and imprisonment is told in a short narrative which they managed to send from Ponnāni on 16 September, and is here given from the only copies available.[1]

The 29th August 1666 the Towne Governor, by name Erriman Acha, with 20 Nairos more, came into our yard, where wee were

[1] *O.C.* 3187, and the one under the same number in the *O.C. Duplicates*, from which some corrections have been made.

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imbayling pepper, pretending that they had order from the Samorin for the mounting of three brasse guns which lay in our court; wherefore they desired Mr. Barbor's advice therein. Whereupon, he being in his chamber, they send our linguist to call him downe. After a short discourse with them concerning the dimensions for their carriages, on a sudden entred some 20 fishermen or Mucvas [Tamil *mukkuvar*]; whereof being demanded a reason, answered that Erriman Acha was to goe to Cotta,[1] a league north of us, to choose plank for the carriages and to frieght some barks to goe against the Dutch. After a short stay, Erriman Acha and the Nairos borrow our servants knives to cut beetle nuts; which having secured, and having placed a watch over them that they should not assist us, Mr. Barbor, upon going up the staires for his ruler, to measure the peices, was seized upon by Erriman Acha and pull'd down three staires and delivered into the hands of the fishermen and Nairos; who being taken up in a trice by the armes and leggs, about 10 more of the dogs laid hold on Charles Smeaton in the same manner. Being horst in that manner, they began to teare of our silver buttons, wastcoates, breeches, and shirts, leaving hardly wherewithall to cover our nakednesse; and in this condition (without giving us any reason for the same) wee were carried out of dores, where for some time they held us in the sea before they could come to fling us into a small boate, which they had provided to carry us to Pendanny [Ponnāni]. As soon as wee were imbarqued, the Nairos and fishermen began to bind our armes to the boates thauts and our leggs to others; which was performed with so much rigour that the blood was ready to start out of our fingers and toes. On our wrists wee beare the impressions of the cords to this day. This was done about 10 of the clock; and having laine one full houre broiling in the sunne without either cap, hat, or shirt, wee set saile for Pendanny, twelve leagues from Callicut; where, after 8 houres continuing thus bound, and being sufficiently wet by the boates shipping many seas, wee landed at sun setting. And in this naked condition wee were conducted to one of the Samorines houses, where, having a continuall watch over us, wee continued to the primo September, when wee were thence dispeeded to True Prayer[2] to the Samorin. And arriving there the 2d. about noon, the next day wee were admitted into his presence; who, not in the least taking notice of his officers former base usage of us, accquainted us that, since he had began a warre with the Dutch and that he had not wherewithall to carry it on, wee must lend him some mony (not then mentioning any summe unto us); to which wee replied that wee should consent thereunto, provided it were to

[1] In lat. 11° 34′ and long. 75° 39′. It was formerly a haunt of pirates.

[2] There is a Tripurayar temple in Chāvakkād taluk, south of Ponnāni.

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be repaid out of our customes. With which wee were dismissed, and at night were sent back by boate to another of the Samorins houses, where wee were ordered to remaine untill the Samorin had consulted with the Rajas and other chiefe officers what mony he might at present have occasion of for the payment of his Nairos. The 4th September in the morning wee arrived at our appointed station; and the next day Erriman Acha brings us an Ola [i.e. letter] from the Samorin, the contents whereof being to acquaint us that, upon a consultation with his chiefe officers, it was determined that wee should lend him 25,000 fanams; to which wee replied that, untill arrival of the English shipp, wee could not raise one fourth part thereof; however, that, upon our being restored to our liberties and possess'd of our house and masters estate at Callicut, wee would by some meanes or other procure him 5,000 fanams; and that, if he would not be contented with that, he must sell the Companies pepper to raise what his occasions might require. With this answer the Regidor Mor [1] proceeded to the Samorin, and promised us in 4 dayes to returne to us againe; which he accordingly performed, with this answer, that it was the Samorins order that wee should be sent to Pendanny, whilst he would send one of the Rajas to treat with us about what they had allready propounded. But as yet he appeareth not, though it be 7 dayes since our arrivall in this port. Only the 12th instant September Erriman Acha told us that the Samorin had ordered him to accquaint us that, if wee ever expected our liberties or ought elce, wee must immediately raise him 12,000 fanams. To which wee replied that what wee had promised wee would performe, and more then that wee had not to lend him, if it were for the saving our lives, as well as the recovery of what they had taken from us; and that it was most unreasonable to levy what ever mony he wants on us, and not on his owne subjects. With that answer the Regidor Mor proceeded to the Samorin, and is not yet returned.

In complete ignorance of what had happened, the President and Council on 20 October addressed a letter to the Calicut factors, in answer to theirs of 23 June. They regretted their precarious position but could see no way of helping them, as no junk would undertake to go to Calicut, for fear of the Dutch. The factors were advised to urge upon the new Zamorin that they had come thither at the express solicitation of his predecessor, and therefore he was bound in honour to protect them, at least until they could depart in safety. They might also point out to him that, although the

[1] Port. *regedor mŏr*, a governor.

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English power in the East might not be so great as that of the Dutch, yet in Europe they had got the better of them, 'and wee hope a short time will make them see as much here in these parts'. If it were thought advisable, the factors might quit Calicut and go inland, on pretence of visiting the Zamorin. As presents would be necessary, a supply of suitable articles would be sent at the first opportunity; and the factors were authorized to spend liberally, in view of the urgent necessity. Should an opportunity present of shipping their pepper secretly on a junk bound for Surat, they should run the risk of its capture; but it was hoped that the factors themselves would remain, 'because that factory will bee the onely place on the whole coast that must supply us with pepper hereafter'. The President and Council enclosed a letter for presentation to the Samorin, and another for 'Herreman Achar', to whom a present might also be given. The President had further procured a letter from 'Veckhy Parracke' to his agent 'Tulcidas Surge' [Tulsi Dās Sūrji], instructing him to help the English; and another one to 'Thare Dungee Jugga' to the same effect. A new broker could not yet be found. Grigby was to be supplied with money, but not too freely.[1]

The news of the factors' arrest reached Surat in the middle of November and was reported to the Company by the President and Council in their letter of the 24th of that month. After giving the news that the Dutch were embroiled with the Zamorin, who was besieging Cochin in alliance with the former Raja of that place, they went on to say that the Zamorin had seized the two English merchants at Calicut, together with the factory and warehouse.

Wherein is more then two hundred candy of pepper, besides cassia lignum; declareing that the Dutch proffered 12,000 fannams for theire persons, therefore he would have soe much of them. . . . Wee can doe noething in it at present; but, this ship dispeeded . . . our next care shall bee for them and the goods, to reconcile the bussines if wee can. Wherein wee shall finde much more difficultie, in regard noe vessells goe downe the coaste as accoustomarie, the Dutch prohibiting and forbidding all, denying them passes; which, doe this Governour what he can, they will not be brought to, but

[1] For a consultation at Surat (15 October), deciding upon the instructions to be sent to Calicut, see Sir George Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series*, vol. i, p. 207.

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tell him to his face that they have an order against it from theire Generall, wherein he commands them rather to raise theire residences and leave the porte then to bee compelled to lycence any juncks to voyadge; which is done by denying them a pass, without any other force upon them. And further they wished the Governour, as he tended the good of the Kings porte, not to urge him to farr herein; to such awe and obedience have they brought all these Easterne nations. They have alsoe with a boate blockt up Broach River, pretending to waite for English goods that maie be brought theather by water . . . but that is not theire designe. It is to surprise what Mallabar vessels shall intend theither, as very accoustomary, theire greatest resort being to that porte. For we could take theire man of warr with a gelliwat,[1] for there is not above one Dutch man, or two at the most, with 5 or 6 of this countrie sailors; but the different shape of theire boate, mast, and saile, with theire flag in the maine topp, is enough to commande a fleete of Moores; soe greatly are they dreaded that it matters not wheather they have either gunn or sword to overcome with.

Meanwhile, the factors at Calicut had succeeded in buying their freedom. This appears from a letter they sent to Surat on 7 November, in which, referring to one of 5 October now missing, they say that therein

Wee gave Your Worship an accompt of our late imprisonment and of our being restored, upon lending the Samarine fanams 5,500 the 24th September past, to our former freedome. . . . If the late Samarin had lived to this time, hee must (as formerly advised you), according to his contract made with the Dutch, have forced us out of his countrey; and now his successor hath promised to deleiver us upp unto them, provided hee may purchase a firme freindship with them, in regard the Dutch are resoulved, upon arrivall of their Generall, to commence a warr with him . . . upon the score of entertaining us (who are their enemies) in his countrey; as also for his assuming unto himselfe the goverment after the decease of the late Samarin without their consent and approbation. Hee sent to the Nayroos [Nairs] to assist him; but no money to encourage them thereunto, reserving what hee had forced from us in his owne pockets; wherupon the rude rable return'd him this answer, that since hee acts all things without theire knowledge or councell, let the result of his proceedings bee either for his advantage or his utter ruine, they are resolved not to concerne themselves therein. Whereby Your Worship may judge in what a condition wee now stand; but much more if wee should relate what slaves

[1] A large boat. See *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 361.

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wee are now become, in regard of the late Samarins abuses to us and noe shipps arrivall with us, to the unreasonable humors of this salvage people; all things here being in a confused condition. Every Rajah seeks to prey upon what hee can; so that wee cannot enjoy one dayes contentment for one or other of them. The Samarin haveing lead the dance, they readily follow him therein. One sends to us for a maund of powder this day; an other for as much more the next; a third for sword blades, etc. And if wee refuse to give or send them what they desire, they threaten to breake downe our dores and to reduce us to our former missery. If they act thus in the beginning, what will they not attempt in the end, when they are fully sattisfyed of what they now conceipt, that noe English shipp can arrive this yeare with us for our releife. Some few dayes since the Samorin sent us an Ola, therein requiring us that, since hee heard of the arrivall of our shipps at the Coast, to dispeed a pattamar with our order to the commanders to send 200 of their men overland, whilst they with theire shipps proceeded for Cranganore to assist him against the Dutch; as allsoe another cossett to Your Worship for the imeadiat sending downe 5 or 6 men of warr for the same purpose. You may easily conclude what was our answer to such irrationall demands; which in fine terminating for many reasons, sufficiently declared to the severall persons whome hee sent with the Ola to us, in an absolute refusall to comply therewith. What hee and his Braminies may resolve upon concerning us, a short time will determine. But to avoyd his displeasure, after our dispatch of his messengers wee sent upp one of our servants (in company of the Regidor-Moor, who was then bound upp to the Samarin) with a present, both for him and the Second Rajah, who is his generall of what Naroos will serve him against the Dutch at Cranganore; that so, if possible, wee may, by obliging them, preserve our masters estate from the hands of our enemies untill Your Worship sends a shipp to receive the same; which if arriveth not in a very few dayes, you may assure your selfe that of all the pepper wee have bought for the Honourable Company they shall never receive the vallew of one corne thereof. For this day our servant return'd from the Samorin, by whom, in requitall for his present sent upp by him, return'd us an Ola for the furnishing him with fanams 10,000 [*sic*] to carry on his warr against the Dutch, pretending it is upon our score hee breaks freindshipp with them, though wee know it is first to hinder them from being masters of his countrey, and for the regaining 15 brass guns which they lately took out of the Second Rajahs house at Cranganore; for which, in a small contest with the Dutch, some of his Narooes were wounded, and this is all the engagement that hath past betwixt them. . . . Our late captivity, our extraordinary

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raines not yet ended, and the severall privat men of warr (though the Samarins subjects) rainging to and froo betwixt this place and Pallore [see p. 97] to pillage all boates by his permission (as is reported) for a third of the prices [i.e. prizes] taken by them, hath much retarded the receiveing of our new pepper; by which meanes as yet wee have not received a fourth part thereof.

Part of their pepper was pledged to raise the recent loan to the Zamorin, and the same course would have to be taken to find the money now required. Grigby had been supplied with 15 sequins more.

The Samorins late barbarous treatement of us hath been much resented by severall Rajahs round about, in particular by the King of Tanore [see p. 97] (half way betwixt us and Pennany), who of his own accord, uppon notice of our returne to Callicutt, dispeeded one of his cheifest ministers to invite us to settle in his port, and with all sent us the inclosed Ola for Your Worship, for your consent there unto. In case of a flight, hee is the onely freind wee have to succor us; and therefore, however his proposalls may bee entertain'd by you, wee humbly crave your acknowledgment in a few lines of his willingness to serve our nation, and your reall thanks to him for the same.

The continuation of the story may be learnt from a letter written to Surat by the same factors on 2 May, 1668 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vol. 105, p. 38).

The Samorine, taking advantadge on our submissive comportment under all our past sufferings, in returne of our present sends us an ola for the speedy supplying him with fanams twelve thousand more then what wee had formerly lent him. The mony not being sent upp unto him according to his order in a short time, here appeared a Braminy[1] with his second ola, which upon perusall wee found to bee of the same contents with that which wee had some few dayes before received from him; whereupon wee were forced to give this answer to the Braminy that mony wee had none, and that what wee had formerly lent the Samorine wee were necessitated to take upp at interest of one per cent. per month, and to oblidge 50 candy of pepper as a pledge for it; however, provided hee could prevaile with any person to lend us more mony at interest, wee were ready to pawne more pepper to serve the Samorines occasions. With this our reply the Braminy was not contented, declaring that mony hee came for and mony hee would have before his departure . . . otherwise, hee would fix certeine Nayres in our house

[1] Elsewhere in the letter styled a 'Numboory', i.e. a *Namburi*, or Brahman of the highest caste in Malabar.

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to prevent either fire, water, or any provision being brought unto us for our subsistance. At this wee were somewhat amazed; however, resolved not to move one foote from our factory, if by any meanes possible it could bee avoyded. Wherefore wee first ingaged the Braminy, by a present given him, to afford us three dayes time. . . . Being thus gott ridd of his company, wee visited the Queene, requesting her assistance in this our desperate condition; but here wee found noe reddresse, in regard, as shee declared to us, that the Samorines ola were not to bee disputed nor his commands, though never soe irregular, to bee questioned or withstood by any that are subjects to him. The next morning wee sent to most of the sheraffs, banians, and principall merchants of the towne, to trye if amongst them all wee could bee supplyed with any mony at interest; but none would befreind us herein, in regard wee had nothing but bulkie commodityes to give them for their security. And here wee must add that the fanams 5500 formerly taken upp at interest had never bin lent us on our goods, had not the banians, who by accident were our debtors for a greater quantity, past a private obligation to the sheraff of whom wee received said mony to bee accountable to him for 50 candy of pepper or its vallue, whenever hee should demand it of them. It being now impossible for us to satisfy the Samorines demand . . . and that the Braminy would bee perswaded onely by a payment of the fanams to forbeare the executing his cruell intentions towards us, life being sweete and liberty noe lesse to bee desired, wee had noe other way left us for the securing of both but by a speedy flight to some other port; nayling upp at the custome house for our indempnity our protest against the Samorine and all his ministers as the cause of our constrained leaving our factory and for all damadges the Honnourable Company may sustaine thereby.

The place at which the factors took refuge was Tanur (twenty miles to the south of Calicut), the Rāja of which, as already mentioned, had promised them protection.

THE COROMANDEL COAST, 1666

During the whole of this year Fort St. George remained in the possession of Sir Edward Winter and his adherents; while Agent Foxcroft, his son, and Jeremy Sambrook were still kept prisoners by the dominant faction. Some information of what was going on at Madras is derived from the letters which Foxcroft from time to time managed to get smuggled out, in spite of Winter's precautions;

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and a certain amount is afforded by the Masulipatam factory records, which opportunely have been preserved.

As already mentioned (p. 127), Winter had entrusted his packet of letters for the Company to the care of the Bishop of Heliopolis for delivery to the President of Surat, to whom he sent an accompanying letter, dated 9 January, requesting that they might be forwarded without delay. He added that the latest news concerning the *Greyhound* and *American* was that both the captains were dead (as also many of their men) and that the two ships were closely blockaded at Balasore by the Dutch. Reports were rife, however, that Rijklof van Goens had ordered a general concentration of Dutch ships at Ceylon, and there was accordingly some hope that the blockade would be raised.

A few days later Winter and his associates addressed a fresh letter to Oxenden, couched, like the foregoing, in conciliatory terms. A fear was expressed that Jearsey's misrepresentations might have led the Surat factors to take an unfavourable view of the writers' part in the recent 'sad catastrophe', and they begged, therefore, that 'a judicious and trusty person' should be sent to investigate the matter. Should the Company disallow the expense of such a proceeding, Winter would willingly make it good out of his own purse. Finally, Oxenden was asked to send his letters direct to Madras by some safe channel, as otherwise Jearsey would intercept and detain them. To this Oxenden and his Council appear to have made no reply.

Winter had cause for uneasiness, for at Masulipatam Jearsey and Niclaes were busily scheming his overthrow. On 3 January they wrote to Surat, describing the steps they had taken to that end and giving what news they could glean concerning the proceedings of the mutineers.

> Their is some hopes theire may bee divisions among themselves, and some speeches have been heard to come from them, tending to that effect; for saith Farley (that fine young man) upon some discontent, if hee perceived Sir Edward, or any other of his party, should seeke to make him away by poison or witchcraft (by which appeares the good oppinion one villaine hath of the other) that hee would leave that behind him that should doe their buisinesse, and that it was hee that had raised him etc. to this height and could cast them downe againe. Tis very certaine that Sir Edward was

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tampering with Cornelious Spellman, Governour of Pullicatt (untill his goeing away, which was in October last that Antonio Pavillion, a farr more moderate man, came to succeed him) about betraying the Fort to him, and severall things were propounded in order thereto ;[1] but Spellman never durst give Sir Edward a meeting, thereby to have had some conferrience with him aboute it ; which Sir Edward often desired. For Spelman, seeing him such a treacherous villaine, durst not trust him, feareing hee might have some designe to trapan him. But upon arriveall of Pavillion, the other Governour (telling him the storry) referred it to him ; whoe immediately shewed his dislike of it, for severall reasons that hee gave. And soone after this, and that the other Governour was gone, Sir Edward sent to him and tould him, if hee would agree to the proposition that hee had made to the former Governour, hee would put up the Dutch colors in the Fort ; to which hee retorned him answere that hee must not looke upon him for his turne as the former Governour, neither would hee hold any correspondence with him ; and as for protection under some of their forts to the southwards—Tunapatam [Tegnapatam] or Negapatam—hee scorned to give protection to such traytors as hee was ; and for our Fort, when they had a minde to it, they could take it without his help. This wee have had credibly reported to us by men of good repute that knowe all the buisinesse from the beginning, and did give the Agent [i. e. Foxcroft] an item [i. e. hint] of some villainny intended against him, not above three dayes before this tragedy was acted ; but the villaines had soe contrived it that hee could not avoid falling into their nett. Indeed hee is much pittyed by all men, and hath the report of the discreetest, wise, and just man that ever was Agent there, and truly wee beleive hee deserves the charector. By what is said, it may appeare that one of Sir Edward's refuges hee aymed at hath failed him ; and indeed wee had more feare of that then any of the rest. But now his talke is that the Company have lost their charter by sending out a traytor, and that now hee will keepe the Fort for the King, and without His Majesties imediate order to him hee will not surrender the Fort to any that the Company should appointe ; and hath been heard to say, if hee could learne that the old rogue Foxcroft (for that is the language of the illbredd puppy) made any meanes to bee Agent againe, hee would immediately goe and cutt him to peeces in the place where hee was. And at annother time the Agents servant, one Francis Barwick, beeing denyed to attend and serve his master, was desireous to bee gone from amongst them ; for which hee had the Agents leave in writeing . . . and goeing to Sir Edward for his

[1] Hutchins (see p. 120 *n.*) deposed that Jearsey had told him (on the authority of the Dutch) that Winter had stipulated that he should remain Governor of Madras during his lifetime.

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leave to depart (as there was noe stirring without) shewed him his lycence from his master; which when hee read that clause, that hee was to returne when the Agent should send for him, What, saith Sir Edward, doth the old rogue thinke to bee Agente againe? I will cutt him as small as hearbes to the pott ere I will suffer it. This argues an intent that they have to keepe the Fort still. But a while since Tymonahs relations have been up in the hilly countrey, where there are a sort of people that are not yet subjected to this King, for Necknam Caune spent neere three yeares about it, with the losse of a greate many men, and could doe nothing. And now Sir Edward etc. mutineires and murtherers are sending up Cholmly [1] and Clopton upon some embassadge to the Kings court. The latter is a most notorious villaine and a greate assertor of their cause; but wee cannot beleive that they will be countenanced there, notwithstanding the meanes that Sir Edward hath made by great bribes and piscashes to the governours aboute Madrasse to write up in his behalfe, and with one of Necknam Caunes officers to procure for him the goverment of Madapollam and Narsapore, whereby, if hee were assaulted by the Company, hee might bee in some measure able to resist any power they would send against him; and if hee could not withstand them, then hee had the conveniencye of a retreate into the hilly countrey that is neare, where hee might bee protected.

That this was Winter's intention seemed to be confirmed by the fact that some letters lately intercepted, from him, Timmanna, &c., to a spy at Madapollam, all foreshadowed his speedy repair to that place. Winter had also threatened to rout out the Company's servants from Masulipatam.

But that which wee feare most is that they will murther the Agent etc., and then either betake themselves to the place where Tymonah and they have been lately, or elce towards Porta Nova, which is the Kings of Vizapores countrey, and then they are gone out of our reach. But to prevent all this, and get possesion of the Company's Fort and them againe, is still our care; and some things that wee propounded to the Agent in order thereto wee have now received his concurrance with us. . . . And one thing was the procureing of the Vice Roy of Goa's prohibition that noe Portiguese (in whome lyeth his greatest strength) should serve, aid, or assist Sir Edward Winter.

This scheme they had already mentioned to the President and Council; but since, in order to save time, they had written direct

[1] Nathaniel Chumley, for whom see the preceding volume, p. 274.

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to the Viceroy. There was no chance that the ships at Balasore would be able to sail that season, seeing that the Dutch had 'not soe few as 20 saile of ships in Bengal'.

Wee are in greate hopes very suddainly to procure this Kings prohibition that noe people whatever shall serve, aid, or assist Sir Edward and his confederates, or help to convey away or conceale any of their estates; which will goe neere to doe the buisinesse. For when the people shall see the King against him, 'twill strick such a terrour in those that are of his party that they will not knowe which way to turne themselves, and the countrey people will soone fall from them and leave the towne; and those souldiers which are the greatest party and true to the Agent will take courage, upon occasion when they see it convenient and shall bee advised to it, to endeavour the Agents restauration. The greatest obsticle wee cann yet foresee in bringing this to passe is that lavish expence that Sir Edward etc. will bee at to procure the Kings connivance at their villainny; and for that purpose three elliphants are sent directly from Madrasse with cloth and other things, and two more are to bee sent from Madapollam; and these are to bee presented by Clopton and Cholmbly, whoe are to negotiate all Sir Edwards buisinesse at court, and are now come downe hither, with orders to dispose of all Sir Edwards goodes, expecting alsoe to have mett his *Preventure* from Tennasearee; but wee hope to advize you in our next that wee have prevented them and all their designes.

In conclusion, the President was asked to instruct Flower in Persia to forward without loss of time any packets he might receive from Masulipatam for transmission to the Company; and a hint was given of the expediency of being as liberal as the Dutch to the Padres at Basra, who acted as intermediaries for the dispatch of letters to Aleppo.

Jearsey's next step was to draw up (7 January) a declaration against Winter and his associates, which all the English at Masulipatam were invited to sign, stigmatizing the recent proceedings at Madras as 'detestable, irregular, and unjust', and holding the actors therein responsible for all consequences. This was signed by Jearsey, Niclaes, Salisbury, Fleetwood,[1] Thomas Morrice, John Field, Brian Hanslope, Edward Reade, Francis Barwick, William Hutchinson, John Cooper, Martin O'Brien, Thomas Davis, and

[1] The statement at p. 163 of the last volume, regarding the parentage of Robert Fleetwood, is erroneous. The reference in *Notes and Queries* there quoted is to John Fleetwood.

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others whose names are not given. The declaration was sent two days later to Madras, with a letter addressed to Edward Herries, one of the factors there, who was secretly in sympathy with Foxcroft and was corresponding with Jearsey. He was informed of the views expressed by Oxenden and his Council regarding Winter's seizure of the Agent; and the letter procured by the President from Padre Ambrosio, 'head of all the Capuchines in India', to the French padres at Madras (see p. 126) was forwarded for delivery to them. Herries was urged to make the declaration known to such as were 'honest', and to endeavour to gather 'proselites', using bribery if necessary. He would soon learn whether the padres could do anything with the Portuguese soldiers; and he might secretly let the latter know that any who assisted to bring about Foxcroft's restoration would be rewarded, whilst those who abetted Winter would be suitably punished. In any case they might be persuaded to lay down their arms and remain neutral. It was reported that after midday, when Winter and Chuseman were in the town, many of the garrison of the Fort would be found asleep. If a dozen of the soldiers could be won over, a sudden attack at such a time might give them command of the Fort and enable the Agent, &c., to be released.

You must bee sure to have some of the honest gunners within, and then, declareing for Agent Foxcroft, you will finde the wheele turne of itselfe. And if Sir Edward etc. should make any bussell and endeavour to regaine the Fort, the first worke to bee done is to leavell his house with great gunns. But hee will not dare to stay long when once hee seeth the gunns to play, if there bee occassion for them. When hee thinkes to escape, his journey may bee stoppt sooner then hee is aware of.

Another device would be, when the major part of the garrison was won over, to raise a cry that the Agent and his son were released and coming; Winter's adherents would then hasten to close the gates, and thus entrap themselves. Once the Fort was secured, all would go well; especially if some store of water and provisions were secretly accumulated, in case of a short blockade. It might be advisable to have a party of English or Portuguese 'aboute the trees at the Fort gate', ready to rush in when the attempt was made to surprise the guard. Oxenden had advised

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that no assistance was to be expected from Goa; while, as to the Golconda court, the delays there were always great, and no answer had been returned to the letters sent, in spite of previous promises. ' 'Tis money they looke for.' A present was about to be sent up; but on receipt of the President's letter this was stopped. It would be far better to do without any assistance from Golconda, if possible; and perhaps, once the soldiers at Madras understood that the President and Council had declared against Winter, they would be anxious to blot out their former misdeeds by seizing him and Chuseman. At the meeting held in the factory to consider the signing of the declaration both Chumley and Clopton attended, and the former made a speech in vindication of Winter's action.

Haveing other sufficient grounds for it, as the stopping their journey to Gullcondah last night, they being determined to bee gone, wee seized on Clopton and have secured him in the factory. Chomley gott to his house, where hee is beseidged. Wee could soone fetch him out by maine force, if wee were minded; but lett him stay there untell hee cann stay noe longer for hunger, and then hee will come out. These villaines used to come to us with their pistolls in their pocketts ready laden, and were bent upon mischife; and did abuse Mr. Salusbury as they came at Pettepolee, for which Clopton gott a cutt over the elbowe, that is not well yet. This buisinesse will spoile Sir Edwards esteeme very much in these parts, to see his creatures thus handled; and 'twill bee a greate meanes to turne those to their obedience that have fallne away, when they shall see all the English men here declare against them, amongst the rest Mr. Fleetwood and Mr. Reade.[1]

Reverting to the question of attempting to seize Fort St. George, the writers assured Herries of support from the outside. ' Wee have soe contrived it that wee will have a considerable party not farr from the towne, and some in it; of whome you shall have advice when they are ready to execute your commands.' An opportunity should then be taken, when Winter and Chuseman had gone some distance out of town (as they often did), to rush the Fort.

Which done, immeadiately lett two or three peeces of ordnances bee fired off one of the pointes that wayes; which must bee the signe to them of our party without (which are the Taliars)[2] to

[1] Reade was related to Winter, and the declaration of 23 January says that Fleetwood was also.

[2] Village headmen (see the 1655–60 volume, pp. 93, 95).

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seize Sir Edward etc., which may bee done with ease. At this Tymonah and Verrina[1] will presently runn out, thinking to give advice to Sir Edward of what is become of the Fort, and they shall bee snapt too.

This suggestion need not deter Herries and his party, if they should find themselves strong enough, from acting without relying on external aid; but it was thought essential that the Fort should be secured and that Winter, Chuseman, and the two brokers should not be given a chance of escaping. To seize Winter first might lead his adherents in the Fort either to murder Foxcroft or to force his would-be rescuers to release Winter in order to save him. Authority from Golconda to seize Sir Edward was daily expected; and if it did not come, 'wee have a paper ready with the Kings chopp to it', which would serve the purpose. Foxcroft had written that he would not be a party to anything that would involve bloodshed.

This is the only cause [course?] wee knowe to avoide it; and if there doe happen a brooken pate or two in the bringing it to passe, it must goe for nothing. One maine instrument you must of necessity use must bee bribes and large promises; therefore bee not too spareing in that, for when wee overcome . . . wee shall make sombody pay for all. . . . PS. The signe by which you shall knowe when the villaines are taken shall bee a white flagg; and when you see that comeing, you may open the Fort gates and let them enter, but to nobody before.

A separate note to Herries of the same date said:

To charge or impeach Sir Edward etc. of treason for this fact they have committed will not hold water. Wee have allready taxed them with mutiny and murther, which will cost them as deare as treason, except the disgrace of drawing and quartering. But hanging they will hardly escape of; which (lett them pretend what they will) they are very sensable of, but brave it out as well as they cann, and runn desparatly into distruction.

On 16 January a letter from the imprisoned Agent, dated the 1st of the month, reached the Masulipatam factors. In this Foxcroft wrote that Winter and his party were making every effort to intercept his correspondence and seemed to be anticipating

[1] Kāsi Viranna, for whom see the preceding volume, p. 166.

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some violent outbreak. All, however, that he and his friends had done was to endeavour 'in a peaceable way' to instil into the minds of the soldiers that they had been misled into an act of rebellion, for which they might yet atone by ceasing to assist those chiefly responsible. Jearsey's letters had been delivered to Thomas Clark and to the Padres; but

All that it produceth is that they profess friendshipp secretly and a dislike of those proceedings; but dare not act, onely offer to convey letters, and the Padraes privatly to perswaid such of the Portingall souldiers whome they can trust of the treachery of this buisiness. But they are very shie of trusting Portingalls, there haveing of late a difference risen between these Padraes here and the Padrae at the Mount,[1] which hath occasioned a sideing and banding and a high contest among the Portingalls in this place, some sideing for the one and some for the other; soe that wee can expect litle from them. And under that strict restraint wee are in, wee can doe as litle among the English souldiers, whoe are kept in such seveere aw that they dare not speake to us nor come neare to bee spoken to. Soe that it is a very inconsederable number, in comparrison, of whome wee can have any assurance.

There was thus little hope of a fresh revolution without bloodshed. Winter had threatened that 'upon the least stirring every man should bee cutt in peices', and had declared that the Portuguese soldiers would all stand by him.

And I am apt to beleive that by John Pareras[2] means, whoe sides against these Padraes and hath drawne Sir Edward to doe soe, some of them may have engaged to him; but I beleive the most part are of another minde, but dare not appeare to act any thing. If the Padraes could have engaged the Portingalls, the buisiness might have bin brought about without the effusion of blood, with the help of your declaration and such other arguments which wee should have used. But wee cannot bee assured of instruments to secure the declaration to bee read or any proposall to bee heard, in case of opposition, which will not faile to bee made. Soe that wee must waite till some dore bee open or wee heare further from you whither any thing may come from Gulcondah to further our cause.

The letter went on to say that, in spite of Foxcroft's written

[1] There was always considerable friction between the Portuguese priests at San Thomé and the French Capuchins at Madras (see Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. i. p. 49).

[2] João Pereira de Faria, a Portuguese merchant who had fixed his residence at Madras.

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orders to Proby, the latter had paid over most of the cash to Winter, and had shared the rest between himself and the soldiers, &c.; so that of 21,000 pagodas seized at the revolution, not fifty remained in hand. Thus Winter had been enabled to gain his former end, viz. to put his unsaleable goods to the Company's account and provide himself with cash to secure support. He never entered the Fort without being fully armed 'and his life guard attending him'; but 'feares begin to multiply' and must more and more increase. Chuseman was as bad, and had 'sold himselfe to worke wickedness'.

Wee are not yet removed into the goodowne prepared. When it was alleadged it would stiffle mee, to put mee in there, and kill mee, hee [i. e. Winter] answered: Let the old rogue dy, and bee hanged. Why doth hee speake against my wife? If hee will bee a contented — I cannot help him. Sir Edward and shee were playing Christmass gambols, lifting one an other back to back, and both came downe, in danger to breake both their necks; but both escaped with some litle hurt to each. What other sport this jollity would have produced I know not, for this accedent spoild their sport for that time. Chuseman now is in care how to convey his estate for England; though hee brought very litle with him, but is now soe consederable that hee was contriveing to send one of his confidents with it into England on purpose to looke after it, if the shipps came hither; but if they toucht at Metchlepatam, hee said, that rogue Jearsey would not suffer them to come hither. By these instances . . . you may see to what impudent boldness this pittifull Leiftenant is come to. Hee is not content to bee miscalled Captain, but is ambitious to bee stiled Major. Bribes have filled his purse, and Satan hath filled his heart with Luciferen pride. . . . I doe not expect soe much villany from Sir Edward (although I have litle ground to expect any good) as I doe from this apostate.

To this letter was appended a postscript by Sambrook, which does not call for special notice. Jearsey and Niclaes replied on 23 January. They said that Francis Nelthrop, who had arrived early in the month, had reported

A designe some of them had to have surprised the Fort on Christmas Day; which was [discovered?] by one Tooley, that is since made Master of the Armes, and for which, Nelthorp saith, hee was immeadiately turned out of the towne, upon suspition of confederacy, for (as hee saith) nothing could bee proved against any man.

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The writers, however, did not trust Nelthrop, believing that he was one of Winter's party and had been sent by him to Masulipatam for some sinister end, for

Wee mett with a letter from Sir Edward to Clopton and Cholmley, wherein hee threatenes, soe soone as hee heares that wee should meddle with ought of his, to sende downe Chuseman with 100 white men and 2,000 blacks, that shall take us, dead or alive. The same hee writt to Nedd Reade; and it hath been credibly reported to us by our neighbours the Dutch that a while since Sir Edward desired leave of the Governour of Pollicatt for his army to come by sea to take William Jearsey. . . . Therefore wee are upon the looke out; and when they come, surely they will aske us leave to goe back againe.

Clopton and Chumley had been secured, but not before they had destroyed their instructions and the letters they were carrying to Golconda. A hope was still entertained that, when it was known at Madras that the Surat and Masulipatam factors had declared against Winter, there would be a revulsion of feeling. As for the Portuguese, a Padre at Masulipatam had been induced to write to his co-religionists at San Thomé, desiring them to warn the soldiers of the risk they were running and to urge them to take part against Winter. The delays at Golconda in replying to Jearsey's letters were due to

Their greate preparations for war and the expedition of Necknam Caune to the fronteires of this countrey with a greate army, that they could not attend it. Yet the other day wee received advice that Necknam Caune, haveing long since received our letters, had againe since his departure writt to the King what a villaine Sir Edward was, and hee that would doe soe by his owne masters could never bee true to them; which doth imply that hee had writt up something to Necknam Caune that hee doth not approve of; and was highly angry with Mortasallee Cooley Beague [Murtaza Ali Kuli Beg] concerning Sir Edward, and hee likewise with mee for incerting his name in my letter to his master (as to have had some confederacy with Sir Edward), which occassioned it, and hath quite spoilt Sir Edwards plott. 'Twas aboute the 14th present that the King received this letter from Necknam Caune; when presently hee told the contents to all the greate men that were then before him; amongst the rest the Dubeer [1] (whoe is Lord Cheife Justice), from whoes mouth this information came, and that the King did

[1] Persian *dabīr*, generally meaning a writer, secretary, or notary.

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then say, if that wee desired it, hee would take the Fort and deliver Sir Edward into our hands. But the party to whome the Dubeer told this made reply that there would bee noe need of takeing the Fort, for Sir Edward etc. might bee brought to subjection otherwise, as wee had prescribed and desired; which hee promised his assistance to effect.

They had consequently sent up 'Oringall' [see the last volume, p. 364], accompanied by some of 'those people that Sir Edward hath soe burnt and abused' [see p. 231], with letters to the King and the *Dabīr*. He had been given 200 old pagodas for expenses, 'and a toy for a piscash to the King, if there bee occassion for it'. A favourable answer was daily expected from Goa, as the Viceroy had received some 'disgust' at Madagascar from Winter. Although the latter and his party kept up a show of confidence, they must be secretly apprehensive of the consequences of their acts. They sent Jearsey a protest, which was delivered 'with a greate deale of impudence' by Clopton and Chumley; and in addition he received a private letter from Sir Edward,

Whoe is mighty high and challenges mee to meet him halfe way, as hee hath done Sir George to meet him at St. Hellena, where hee never intends to come. This pragmaticall priest thinkes hee hath shewed his skill in both; and Farley is as sawcye as may bee in his. But our last will bee such a choake paire [1] to them all that they will hardly scrible any more.

The King of Golconda would probably take steps to secure Foxcroft's release; but this should not prevent other measures being adopted, as recommended in their last letter.

A fresh declaration was enclosed, bearing the same date and addressed to all the Company's servants, the soldiers, and the inhabitants of Madras, exhorting them to restore Foxcroft to his post and intimating the probability of the King of Golconda taking action to this end, in which case they would suffer and the town might never be returned to the English. Winter and his associates were roundly denounced, Chuseman being referred to as

That disembleing hipocryticall fellow . . . that was drag'd up amongst Olivers saints, and never much exceeded a common trooper all the time, and was by meanes of Agent Foxcroft entertained as Lieutenant. Hee . . . now declares what hee doth is in

[1] A choke-pear, i.e. a hard kind of pear, and hence something hard to swallow.

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behalfe of the King; when hee hath himselfe made confession that hee would not have stirred out of England but that hee had made a vow never to take up armes for the King.

In a letter to Balasore of 10 February, the Masulipatam factors gave some further news of what had happened at Madras.

Aboute the middle of November William Jearsey writt to you againe from Madapollam; which hee sent by the grand mutineir Sir Edwards peones that were goeing to you. But by the advice of Mr. Francis Winter (wee suppose) or some of his relations, they were returned with our letters back to Sir Edward, instead of goeing forward to you; wherein they found something of our writeing that hath much displeased them; whereupon they have voted us traytors and threatened our ruyne, and without more adoe revoked their former act (which they were intended to performe) of admitting William Jearsey into the Agency; declareing him to bee an unfitt person, and pointe blanck that they will not. With the aforesaid papers wee sent you coppies of one from the Agent [Foxcroft] to us; wherein takeing occassion to speake something of laciviousness of Chuseman's wife,[1] giveing her a dash with his penn, this very thing by the instigation caused the Agents remove, with his sonne, out of an airy chamber aloft to a narrower and closer confinement below and strictor guards then before.

Reade was suspected of assisting in forwarding letters from Foxcroft to Masulipatam; but as he stoutly denied it (though true), Winter contented himself with giving Reade permission to go to Masulipatam. The latter arrived accordingly, but had 'now gon to spend his time in quietnesse upon the coast of Gingerlee'.

Proby was alsoe discovered to have writt something to us, not tending to the establishment of their new goverment; for which hee was called to accompt, but came off by protesting wee belyed him and voteing to have the Agent, with his sonne and Mr. Sambrooke, put into a close, a goodowne, together, where the light cometh in but one way and that at the doore when 'tis open, and there to have the house of office, and to eate and sleepe all in one place. This was propounded to bee the best way to keep them from scribleing and giveing any advice abroad; which (they said) they would doe, let them watch never soe strictly, soe long as any windoes or doores were open. And this the good woeman [i. e. Mrs. Chuseman], whome you must know to bee one of Sir Edward's privye councell, was very hott for; and when one that had but

[1] From another reference it seems that Foxcroft had hinted at an amour between her and Winter.

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one spark of grace more then the rest, and made it appeare by saying that to put them altogether in such a hott place, with the place of necessary occasions, would soone stifle them, shee made answere 'twas noe matter; let the old rogue dye and be hanged, if hee would; for it should bee soe, for the dashing her with his penn. And accordingly people were imployed presently to prepaire the place; and wee feare they are in it before this time.

Some further particulars may be gleaned from the Surat letter to the Company of 17 February, which reflects intelligence received from Masulipatam.

That cursed phanatick rogue Chuseman . . . hath been the greate actor in all this businesse; for which, the papers say, beside the greate reward he hath had and is to have from Sir Edward, Timona and Verona have promised 500 pagodas for their release out of prison. And Chusemans wife is made a greate gentlewoman by presents from Sir Edward and his lady of many rich silkes, greate diamond and ruby rings, and gold chaines, and a greate deale more not yet known to them both, that have perfectly wonne her to be a confiding woman and one of the councell. And as to those souldiers that assisted in the plott, they doe not goe unrewarded, but are much made of at Sir Edwards house and ride upon elephants.[1] But yet they write there is a sober party, both of factors and souldiers, belonging to you, that are of a contrary judgment and will stand for your intrest, notwithstanding they are forced to signe to severall papers which they abhorr from their very hearts; yet they must doe it. Sir Edwards cruelty is soe greate that whosoever denys to sett his hand to what he would have him is in danger of his life, besides other cruell usage they feare to be inflicted on them. Nor is any one suffered to send any paper or writing out of the Fort but what must first be brought to Sir Edward to be perused; and this is a gennerall order given out to them all, that nothing may passe his knowledge. Severall persons that were the accusers of Tymana and Verona are since laid hold on by Sir Edward and most unhumanely used, by cruell burning them on the armes, shoulders, face, and head, unmercifully drubbed, one side of the haire on head and beard shaved off, and then sett on asinegoes [i.e. donkeys], with their faces the contrary way, and soe carryed out of towne and banished. Lieutenant Chuseman was yet more cruell, mooving to have their right hands and feet cutt off. This was the reward of some of them; whilst others saved themselves by flight, not daring to be knowne where they are or come neare their houses.

[1] An account of the rewards given to those who assisted in the outbreak will be found in *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 16 (P.R.O.).

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We have seen (p. 147) that Blake, who was recognized by those loyal to the Company as the rightful Agent during Foxcroft's imprisonment, had sent to Masulipatam, for transmission to Madras, a document calling upon the Company's servants there to consider Jearsey (in Blake's absence) as their Chief. Jearsey and his Council, however, in their reply of 10 February, intimated that they had held back the declaration, fearing lest it should be construed into an acquiescence in the deposition of Foxcroft. They thought it should be made clear that the latter was to be restored, and that only in the case of his death would Jearsey take charge of the administration.

This letter was crossed by one from Blake and his colleagues, dated 19 January, enclosing a protest[1] against Winter for his usurpation, holding him responsible for all consequences, and calling upon him, in the event of his not finding it 'convenient or safe' to release the impeached Agent, to surrender the Fort, &c., to Jearsey. The factors at Masulipatam were asked to add their signatures and then transmit the document to Madras.[2] The covering letter approved of steps being taken to seize any property of Winter's, including his venture to Siam. The three Bengal protests Jearsey, Niclaes, and Salisbury on 10 March forwarded to the Portuguese Padre at San Thomé for delivery, accompanied by two more declarations from themselves, addressed, the one to Winter, Proby, and Chuseman, and the other to all the Company's servants at Madras. In these they made clear their own view that Foxcroft was still the Agent and should be released and recognized as such.

The news that one of Winter's ships, the *Preventer*,[3] had arrived at Coringa,[4] on her return from Siam, led Jearsey to dispatch thither Niclaes, Turner, and Nelthrop, with instructions (28 March) to seize her and her lading. A letter was at the same time addressed to John Stanford, who was in charge of the vessel, explaining the

[1] Witnessed by Thomas Stiles, Gabriel Townsend, and Edmund Bugden. From an entry in the *Court Minutes* of 25 September, 1667, it appears that the last-named was employed privately by Blake, that he had then been about ten years in India, and could speak the language.

[2] Leaving out of account the imprisoned members, Blake, Jearsey, and Niclaes still formed a clear majority of the Council as constituted by the Company.

[3] According to the document of 21 September cited below, she was so named by Winter because she was intended to forestall the designs of the Masulipatam factors.

[4] At the mouth of the northernmost branch of the Godāvari, eight miles from Cocanāda.

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reasons for their actions and requiring him to hand over to Niclaes everything belonging to Winter. The result is mentioned in a letter from the Masulipatam factors to Foxcroft on 30 May, in which, after stating that they had seized some broadcloth sent by Sir Edward to his brother Francis for sale, they added:

Wee have alsoe attacht his vessaile and goodes that came from Syam; but Mahmud Beague,[1] haveing been greased [i. e. bribed], will not suffer us to meddle with any thing without the Kings phirmaund, which wee have now procured.

On 20 April Blake, Bridges, and Elwes replied to the Masulipatam letter of 10 February. They explained, with some resentment, that they had purposely refrained from urging the restoration of Foxcroft to his post, for fear lest this should lead to more rigorous measures against him; and they expressed a hope that the documents had since been sent on to Madras. For his own part Blake protested that he could not leave Bengal unless ordered to do so by the Agent and Council. A fear was expressed that the correspondence between Masulipatam and Herries would be discovered; and the success of any rebellion against Winter was thought to be unlikely. That the attempt was made, however, is notified in a letter from the Masulipatam factors to Bengal (16 July), the agent employed being Benjamin Brond, purser of the *Greyhound*, who had been the bearer of a letter from the Balasore factors to Masulipatam and had then gone on to Madras to obtain men and an advance of money from Foxcroft on behalf of the owners of the ship, to meet the expenses caused by her detention.

Wee have kept your peons untill now, in hopes that wee should

[1] Described in the letter to Bengal of 16 July as 'Cheife Governour of Madapollam, Corango, and that side the countrey'. It is added that the *nākhuda* in whose vessel the broadcloth came had previously brought to Winter from Tenasserim 'returnes to neer the halfe of the whole adventure on the *Madrass*, Mr. Deering (whoe is since dead) consigning all to him'. An extract from a letter addressed by Jearsey to Chamber in England, 7 January, 1667 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 3, p. 84), says that Winter thus recovered nearly 20,000 pagodas. A letter from Niclaes to Chamber, 20 December, 1666, on the same subject will be found at p. 85 of that volume.

O.C. 3188 gives translations of two letters from Winter ('Cheife of Chinapatam') to the Nawāb (i. e. Neknām Khān) and to one of his officials, named Mīrza Arab. In the former, complaint was made that Mahmūd Beg, upon receipt of an order from the *Sar-i-Khail*, had made over the ship and goods to Jearsey. The other letter desired an order to the *Havildār* of San Thomé to hand over to Winter an Englishman sent in disguise by Jearsey, and also the padres there, as they were all intriguing with the garrison of Madras.

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have recovered the Fort and set the Agent etc. at liberty ; of which wee have failed in our purposes. Mr. Brond can tell you of one great misscarriage, wherein hee was cheife actor and, being betrayed, for a time suffered imprysonment, but at length got his liberty by giveing security or bond to returne againe in November and deliver himselfe up a prysoner to Sir Edward and his gang. Wee referr you to Mr. Brond for a full relation how things stand at the Fort. . . . What papers you sent to the Fort are come to their hands, with some such like from our selves . . . but they could not bee delivered untill such time that Mr. Brond and Mr. Herrys were seized on, whoe then presented Sir Edward with them. Mr. Herrys, with aboute 12 more, remayne still prysoners, and not one of the confederacy escaped but Mr. Brond, by the meanes afforesaid.

The letter went on to say that the reference in the declaration by the Bengal factors to the Fort being delivered to Jearsey instead of to Foxcroft had been made ' huge much of ' by the rebels, they arguing that Blake and his colleagues ' were not of the opinion that the Agent etc. could bee releas't and therefore left it to them to doe as they should thinke fitt '. At the close of the letter it was intimated that

Madras hath been lately beseidged by Necknam Caunes order, on accompt of the Portiguize, which hee would have delivered up to him, they haveing taken a shipp belonging to this port goeing to Persia and carryed her to Goa, where, 'tis reported, they doe not use the Moores that were in her soe civilly as they might doe. 'Tis upon the accompt of St. Thoma that they doe this ; which (by what the King hath writt to us, that wee might write to the Vice Roy, and that wee heare from abroad) will bee surrendred to them, and not tell then that the Portiguize will bee quiett. However, upon second thoughts, the seidge against the Fort is raised, haveing lasted from the 19th last moneth to the 8th of this, that nobody was suffered to goe in nor out, nor any provisions to bee carryed in.

With this letter went a copy of one received by Jearsey from Foxcroft, dated 29 March. In it the imprisoned Agent expressed grave doubts as to the advisability of urging the King of Golconda to attack Madras, seeing that, when captured, it was not likely to be handed over except upon rigorous conditions, if at all. For his part he would rather endure further hardships, in the hope that the Company would find means to regain the settlement, than risk its loss as the price of his liberty.

For the papers that have come from you and those from Suratt,

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although I have greatly desired they should have bin delivered and read before this time, yet it is not as yet done. Whither they have received copies of them or other notice thereof, I know not; but Sir Edward hath threatned that, if any one should attempt to read any papers to the souldiers, hee hath taken that order that whoever hee bee shall bee cutt in peices; and for feare thereof noe instrument can bee mett withall that dare adventure to doe it. Notwithstanding which threats, I resolved to have taken some opportunity, when my dore was opened, to have done it some time my selfe, whoe am noe way under the power of any such feare, and did communicate my resolution for councell and consent, for that, if they should bee inraged by the same, it would not have centered onely in my selfe but would have bin extended to our friends alsoe that should any way have countinanced it. Our friends all diswaided mee from it, and soe it is undone.

Nelthrop, it was pretended, was turned out of Madras for 'other foule matters alleaged against him, not fitt to bee named'; he should certainly not be trusted. That Winter should send Chuseman against the Masulipatam factors was not to be feared; nor would the Dutch give any countenance to the rebels. Winter had declared, in order to support his credit, that he should be President next year, and he had professed his willingness to wager upon it. Foxcroft offered to accept the bet, but Sir Edward then declined.

For the Padrees in the Mount, I doubt there is alsoe a league betweene them and Sir Edward upon the difference with the Padraes here, against whome hee hath sett himselfe and joyned with their adversaries, and hath permitted another Padrae to erect another church here, and hath given the Madras house [1] for their church.

A postscript announced the arrival of a junk from Siam (see p. 233), which had brought Winter from twenty to twenty-five thousand pagodas in gold, silver, &c.

I did not perceive these usurpers take any great felicity in the great good news of the success of our fleet. Hee bestowed double as many gunns at the marriage of him that is supposed to have kill'd Mr. Dawes [2] then hee did for this news, notwithstanding his great pretence of loyalty to His Majestie, although I prest him to make a loud sound thereof.

[1] Probably a copyist's error for 'given them Modana's house' (cf. p. 249).

[2] According to a letter from which an extract is given in *C.O.* 77, vol. x. (f. 16), this was 'one Burrell, that came along with Chuseman, who shott off a pistol at the Agent, which was said to kill Mr. Dawes'.

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To this letter Sambrook added a short note, giving his free consent to any measures the Masulipatam factors might take for the recovery of Madras, even if it involved risk to the prisoners.

Some further intelligence concerning the attempt to overthrow the dominant party at Fort St. George is to be found in a letter prepared by Foxcroft in April, but not dispatched until some months later, for want of a safe conveyance. Foxcroft had given the necessary authority,[1] but some delay took place in transmitting this to Brond. Whether this delay had anything to do with the failure Foxcroft could not say; but he thought that, had the attempt been made, the Fort and Chuseman would have been easily captured. As for Winter, it seems 'there was noe great resolution to have ventured to secure him in those that were engaged'; but Foxcroft hints that his son, once freed, would probably have won them over and succeeded in seizing the arch-rebel.

But the opportunity being slipt, the buisiness (I know not how) was discovered, and thereupon, or upon suspicion, Mr. Herris, Mr. Brond, and divers others they have had the presumption to secure and putt in irons. . . . Without doubt they are full of fears, being now jealous [i. e. suspicious] of every one, and that not without cause; for of about 40 English which now remaine out of prison and chaines, if occasion were, the better halfe would appeare and shew themselves friends to the Companies interest. And although Sir Edward and Chuseman have more confidence in the Portuguizes (of whome they appoint a double number to their night guards to what they did before), yet though Sir Edward, to make a shew of their countinanceing him and standing by him, and when hee came into the Fort (which hath bin but once since this buisiness) came with a guard of musketeers, about 12, all Portugalls, with musketts cockt and matches lighted, yet even amoung them and I beleive most the greater part of the rest of the Portingall souldiers, if once a party appeared up, would soone shew they understand it to bee their interest to cleave to the Companies and not this usurped authority, however they may now seeme to face it while these men continue their usurpation, being senceble of the cruelty of these tyrants, if they should fall

[1] See P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 44. The document, which is dated 5 April and signed by Foxcroft and Sambrook, charges all loyal servants of the Company and others in Madras to seize Winter and his confederates and to restore Foxcroft to his post. The writers undertake to intercede for the pardon of any who had taken part in the rebellion.

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under their power. The like dread doth posess the blaks that now increase his retinue, many being putt into arms by Sir Edward; and haveing experience of his cruelty, dare now doe noe other then make shew for him. But if once the dread of his present power were removed, hee would finde few would cleave to him for any love they beare him; but now its love of his mony rather then of his person.

In the circumstances the only course open to Foxcroft seemed to him to be to wait patiently the course of events.

A more detailed account of the attempt to bring about a counter-revolution is supplied in a letter to the Company written by Brond himself (14 October) after his return to Balasore. Upon his arrival at Madras, he said,

The Agent sent mee out many papers privately to advise mee to try if I could draw the souldiers off from Sir Edward, and so to turne the tide; which papers I accepted, and thought it my duety towards Your Honours to use the best of my endeavours in prosecuting the same. Which, with the assistance of Mr. Edward Herris, wee in a very short time had drawne the stronger of Sir Edwards gu[nners] to bee on our side; so that wee had nothing to doe but to waite for a good opportunity for the prosecuting our intentions without bloudeshed, which was alwaies the desire of the Agent [in] his papers to us. So on the 7th Aprill 66 a faire opportunitie did present, Sir Edward, Mr. P[roby, and] Chuseman all out a hunting; then were wee resolved to fall on our designe, all meeting [at Mr.] Grimwells house[1] (the place appointed for all persons that were freinds and at liberty to appeare there) to stay till the guard had shutt the Fort gate, and I should have published Sir G[eorge] Oxindens declaration. For I had made the whole in-guard that were then on due[ty], our freinds except one, John Bossill, a sergeant, whom wee dared not reveale [it to; but] wee might easily have stowed one man without bloudeshed. So it was agreed on th[at, when] I came into the Fort, I should bringe Hugh Dickson in with mee; who allwaies seem[ed to be] forward, till it came to the time appointed; then hee cried out of his wife and children, an[d that if] hee were killed they would perishe. Soe [he], with two or three bastards, with his [faint] hart brought a greate many men to know sorrow. I hope Your Honours will not forgett him [and all] such. After that, I went into the Fort, but could not perswade the men to any [action?], by reason Dickson came not in. All the cry was that hee came not in: wee might ta[ke it], but cannot hold it without a very good gunner. So was nothing

[1] The house which had belonged to the former Agent, Greenhill.

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acted, but all were desi[rous] it might soe die. But wee had made such preparations for it that gave mistrust, and with li[ttle] examination it was discovered by one John Dunn, an armorer, one of our crew. The next d[ay] Mr. Edward Herris and myselfe and 15 or 16 more English men more [were?] clapt into prison. There w[ere] about such a quantity of us that injoyed their liberty who engaged to us, but unknowne to that John Dunn. After 24 daies imprisonment I gott libertie, giving them my bond for 5,000*l.* sterling. At present Mr. Edward Herris and the rest are in irons in the Choutry, amongst severall blacks that are accompted for traitors against Sir Edward Winter and Tymonah, tis said to comitt treason against that r——. To mee they threaten perpetuall ruine, saying I am none of Your Honours servant and therefore had not that reason on my side others had. Yet they in[vited] all free men to joyne with them; which some persons did, supposing they had gott the he[ad] place and so should soone have destroyed your trade in other parts of India. But Mr. William Jers[ey did] meete with them, and I am sure gave them noe cause to boast. . . . When I was at liberty at Fort St. George, I heard Sir [Edward] say that, should His Majesty of England send his positive order for the delivery of the Fort to your [Worships], hee would not obey it, unless His Majestie should send answer to one particular letter whi[ch hee] was so audacious (after hee had comitted his treachery) to send to His Sacred Majesty. There is one Richard How, on this occasion now in prison. Hee was one Sir Edward looked highly on. I drew him on our side. I heard him say to Sir Edward that hee promised him one hundred and sixty new pagothes to give his assistance for securing the Agent, but hee told him hee had not performed it so large as his promise. Therefore hee confided no longer in him. Hee is in irons amongst honester men.

On 24 May the *Constantinople Merchant*, commanded by Samuel Ward, reached Masulipatam from England, bringing letters from the Company addressed to the Madras Agent and Council. The first of these was a copy of one (dated 18 September, 1665) which apparently had been lost on its way overland. It mentioned the arrival in England of the *Coronation*, *Morning Star*, *Rebecca*, and *George and Martha*, escorted from St. Helena by three men-of-war. Regret was expressed at the news of discord among the Coast factors, but it was hoped that these had been composed since the arrival of Foxcroft. News was given of the dispatch of an English fleet to Bergen, and a reference was made to the ravages of the plague in London. The sending of a small ship to Madras in

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December was foreshadowed, to be reladen partly with calicoes and partly with Bengal saltpetre. Should Fort St. George be attacked by the Dutch, it was confidently expected that the garrison would behave like 'truehearted and valliant Englishmen', and a promise was given that any good service thus rendered to the Company would be rewarded. Letters were enclosed for transmission to the factors in Bengal.

The second letter, dated 18 December, 1665, announced that the *Constantinople Merchant* (300 tons) had been laden with a cargo of broadcloth (1,926*l.*), quicksilver (1,432*l.*), coral (477*l.*), alum (108*l.*), lead (702*l.*), gold ingots (9,384*l.*), and certain stores, making a total of 14,204*l.* She was to be returned as speedily as possible (to avoid the risk of capture by the Dutch), and was not in any circumstances to be sent further north than Masulipatam. In view of the successes of the English fleets it was hoped that peace was not far distant; and meanwhile the factors must be vigilant and must restrict expenses as much as possible. Several recruits were being sent out for the garrison of Fort St. George.

Wee have notice given us that our people at Metchlepatan are soe farr from adorning our Christian profession that they are rather a scandall to it, by their neglecting of holy duties, espetially on the Lords Day, on which (as wee are informed) they only in the morning have the Comon Prayer read, and spend the rest of the day vainely, more like heathens then Christians, to the dishonour of Almighty God and the hazarding of theire owne pretious soules. Wee therefore desire you, our Agent and Counsell, to advise them that wee are very much displeased with these their actions, and require them from us to reforme them. . . . To which end wee desire you to send them out of your library some good sermon booke, out of which, after readeing the Common Prayer, both forenoone and afternoone, let them constantly reade a sermon publickely; which beeing performed, let the remaineing part of the day bee spent by every perticuler person in readeing Gods Word or holy conferrence, as people that feare the Lord and as those that expect a blessing from Him.

On investigating the claim of Susanna Fuddle,[1] it had been found that nothing was due to her late husband or to Richard Cogan. The wife of Barnard Dimsdale had been permitted to go in the ship to rejoin her husband. The *Dorcas*, of about 75 tons,

[1] See the previous volume, p. 384.

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under Leonard Webber, had been hired to accompany the *Constantinople Merchant*, but was to go straight to Balasore and be laden there for England with saltpetre, silks, &c. The Bengal factors had been ordered, when writing to the Company by ships touching at Madras, to leave open their general letters for perusal by the Agent and Council, but this need not hinder their writing privately to the Company when necessary. 'Padree Whitfeild' had been questioned about the 300 fanams collected for the relief of the soldiers,[1] and he had replied that he spent the whole of it for that purpose, with more from his own pocket. He had further alleged that Winter bought his books from him on his own account, not for the Company; still, if the Agent and Council, with the concurrence of Smythes, regarded them as suitable additions to the library, no question would be raised. The complaint regarding the medical stores would be investigated. None had been sent by the present ship, but a larger supply of wine—two pipes of good Canary—had been provided instead. After references to certain commercial matters, note was taken of Sambrook's exertions and a reward was promised. Should the war continue, only one ship would be sent out the following season. The plague had much abated. It was suspected that the gold sent out from England had been undervalued in the Madras accounts 'for perticuler gaine', and a strict investigation was ordered. A war with France was expected, as the King of that country was actively assisting the Dutch; in such an event the actions of the French padres at Madras must be watched, and precautions must be taken against attacks by French vessels. John Crandon[2] might be paid two-thirds of his salary each year. Captain John Proud had paid to the Company 10*l*., and the value of that sum was to be made over to his kinsman, John Field, at Masulipatam. Lest Fort St. George should be attacked by the Dutch, French, 'or others',

Wee desire you to engage the King of Gulcondahs forces, his Nabob, or any of the natives that shall have power neare the Fort, to asist you in the preservation thereof; and also to put the natives of Madrass in the best posture you can for the defence of the Fort and themselves. But in the transacting of this affaire with the King, his Nabob, or others, wee require that you doe not engage

[1] See the previous volume, p. 390.

[2] Ibid., p. 386.

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us to them in a warr offensive and defensive, but compasse their asistance by some other meanes, such as you shall conceive and conclude most convenient.

The claim made by Dawes for money lost through Greenhill was referred to the Agent and Council for consideration; it was, however, a matter for the United Joint Stock, not the existing Company.

With this letter came a private one to Foxcroft from the Governor and Committees, transmitting an official communication, dated 21 December and addressed to the Agent and Council, directing them to inquire into a series of charges made by Nicholas Buckeridge against Winter, and into others preferred by the latter (in a letter to his brother Thomas) against Jearsey, Niclaes, and others. If the charges against Winter should appear to be substantiated, his estate was to be seized. Further, inquiry was to be made into complaints by certain factors that they had been displaced in favour of some relatives of Winter; if this was true, the factors were to be restored to their places. The allegations against Winter were given at length, the total of the resulting damages to the Company reaching the formidable total of 39,247*l.*, apart from other items to which a money value could not be affixed.

Fearing lest Winter might have refused to hand over the Agency to Foxcroft, the captain of the *Constantinople Merchant* was warned to be cautious in approaching Madras. On arrival he was to send ashore for Sambrook in order to learn the state of affairs; and if he found that Winter was in possession, he was to sail at once for Masulipatam. To avoid capture by the Dutch, he was on the outward voyage to call at Mauritius and then to keep well to the east of Ceylon. On his return he was to take care lest Dutch or French ships should be at St. Helena, and if necessary he should go thence to Barbadoes for provisions. In the instructions given to Captain Webber, he was, upon reconsideration, ordered to call at Madras on his way to Bengal.

The prevision shown by the Company saved the *Constantinople Merchant* from falling into the clutches of Winter. A letter from Masulipatam to Surat of 25 May tells us that she was chased near Madras by four Dutch ships, but outsailed them and anchored beyond San Thomé. There 'an invitation from the grand rebell

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attended them', but Captain Ward, on learning how matters stood, at once sailed for Masulipatam, where he arrived on 24 May. The *Dorcas* had lost company on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope. A letter to Bengal dated 16 July describes the steps taken by Jearsey to secure the *Constantinople Merchant* against the interference of the Dutch.

Which wee presently made sure with the Governour, Shabander, and Sarsamut,[1] soe farr that they presently gave the duroy[2] to the Dutch not to offer any vyolence in this port; threatning that, if they did, they would pull their factory downe aboute their eares. And to that purpose the Governour and Shabander etc. kept their randivoues in the bancksall[3] for three or four dayes and nights togeither, in which time they made the Cheife of the Dutch, Signor Jaques Caulier, give a writeing under his hand that, if any of their shipps came, they should not meddle with ours; which hee would faine have waved, pretending (and not unjustly) it did not lye in his power to hinder them, they comeing with orders from a head factory and authority above him. But they layd the law soe home to him that they made him send of catamarans and boates to lye in waite for their shipps with advices what they were like to suffer ashoare if that they attempted any thing upon our shipp in the roade. This is as much as wee were able to doe on the sudaine; but while this was doeing, by meanes of the Governour, Shabander, etc. and what wee writt to the King and Seirkall,[4] downe came two phirmaunds from the King, one at the heeles of the other . . . absolutely forbiding the Dutch to use any hostility in the road, upon paine of his displeasure; also a phirmaund from the King and a letter from the Seirkall, in answere to ours to him, assureing us of protection for our selves ashoare and our shipping in the road. Soone after this cometh five Dutch shipps from Pullicat, with orders and full intent to distroy or take the *Constantinople Merchant*, but were mett with, with advices from the shoare which made them forbeare; but by their comeing in right upon her, wee from the shoare suspected they would have boarded her, but did not, only came to anchor of each side, ahead and astearne, and some within pistoll shott, that, had the wind but shifted (as oftentimes it does), they must of necessity have falen foule one of the other; and this the Dutch did a purpose to commence a quarrell. The admirall immeadiately, sending his boate aboard with a steersman,[5] com-

[1] The head of the district (*sar-samt*).

[2] Prohibition (Tel. *durāi*).

[3] See the preceding volume, p. 268.

[4] The *Sar-i-Khail* was the chief revenue official at Golconda.

[5] The Dutch *stuurman* is equivalent to our pilot or mate.

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manded Captaine Ward to stricke his culours. Hee replyed hee could not. The steersman tould him they were masters of the seas and that hee must stricke. The captaine replyed hee would not acknowledge it, and bid him be gone. Presently the admirall sent him againe, to command Captaine Ward to deliver up his shipp to them, for the use of the Dutch Company, by fare meanes; otherwise hee would force him to it by boarding of him. The captaine replyed that hee scorned to deliver up his shipp or strike his culours, and that hee was now under the protection of the King of Gullcondah, and that, if hee did resolve to board him, hee was ready to receive him, and bid him take what followed; and so dismis't the mesenger. Thus they lay insulting and domineiring, five to one. The same night, between one and two a clock, they landed above 40 souldiers, all armed, and had entertained neer 300 peons before; soe that wee feared they would not have obeyed the Kings command, haveing sent away all their women before towards Corango [Coringa], where wee had newes that they were to embarque, but Mahmud Beague, by advice of this Governour, stopt them at Dasharoone [1] and set a guard aboute their factory and would not suffer them to goe in nor out. In the morning wee acquainted the Governour with the danger that our shipp was in by their rideing soe neare; whoe sent to the Dutch to remove their shipps, but they refused it. Whereupon there grew a great contest, insoemuch as the Governour and Shabander etc., lying ready in the bancksall to watch the Dutches motion, sent them word that, if they did make any attempt upon our shipp or us ashoare, they lay ready by the Kings command to fall upon them and cutt them off. Wee were alsoe in a posture of defence and ready to side with the Governour upon the first occassion; and for that purpose the Governour had before advised us to entertaine a great many peons, and gave us leave for a couple of brass gunns to bee brought into our factory. This recado [2] of the Governours to them made them alter their resolutions . . . and thereupon the Cheife here declared that hee had for the present soe ordred the buisiness that their shipps should not meddle with ours untill such time as hee received answere from Pullicat; and immeadiately sent away the Kings phirmaund with the Cheife of Dasharoone and another with it. Here wee were in some fright againe, feareing what order might bee sent from Pullicat by boate directly to the commanders. But in the interim of this, wee were not unmindfull to write up all passages to the King; which hath produced another phirmaund to the Dutch better then the first, for it doth not only command them to ride further off from our shipp whilest in the road, but also forwarnes them meddleing with any of our shipping the whole

[1] Drācharam, 17 miles south-west of Coconāda.

[2] Message (Port.).

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length of his coast, which reaches from Managapatam[1] on [to?] the coast of Gingerlee beyond St. Thoma, which is aboute 160 leagues; and if that they will not obey this order, then to bee gone and leave his countrey, for this was noe place for them. But the King, by what wee advised doubting that they would bee disobedient and attempt something, caused a guard to bee set upon their factory in Gullcondah, hindering them from all tradeing and threatening them there that they should suffer first, if they did any thing against his pleasure and what hee had commanded them to observe; withall sent an order to one of his governours, that resides aboute 20 myles from this place and hath allwayes 2 or 300 horse, to bee ready to come in to our assistance, if the Governour here thought hee could not deale with them or did require it; and wee have alsoe received a letter from him, expressing his readiness to come upon the least occassion. But wee hope there will bee noe need of it, the Dutch men being returned from Pullicat in peace; which [it] was our great feare would have proved otherwise. This buisiness hath cost the Company neer 1000 pagodas already to the Governour, Shabander, etc. here; and had it not been for the Shabander, whoe is the honnesttest man amongst them, 4,000 pagodas old, that the Dutch proffered the Governour before the phirmaund came downe, might have spoylt our buisiness. But wee hope now there is noe danger, the Dutch being ladeing their shipps and returning them to Pullicat. . . . Thus have wee spent a full moneth in a posture of defence. . . . The Dutch men that returned from Pullicat brought a letter from Signor Antony Pavillion, their Governour, to the Governour of this towne, wherein hee speakes as disgracefully of our nation as hee cann; but wee are not much behind hand in seting them forth to the King (but in nothing but what is truth). One thing hee alleidges for his order to take our shipps here is that wee have done the like to them in other kings ports, and quot[es] Guin[e]a, and soe proceeds to the proveing what they doe to bee just, and against reason for them here to give us protection in their port; but rather then to fall out with them, they would let our shipp alone, but require satisfaction of the Governour for the charge they have been at in sending downe their five shipps hither. What answere the Governour will send him wee doe not knowe yet, but intend to hint something to him that shall bee to the purpose, and shall also make knowne to the King the whole storry of Guynea, with other their villaineys and leidgerdemaines; for this letter will bee sent up to the King; soe 'twill bee necessary that wee undeceive him and tel him the truth. They endeavour all possible they cann to cast an odium upon us, but they are knowne pritty well; for since this

[1] Mānikpatam, on the northern side of the outlet from the Chilka Lake.

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buisiness the Seirkall hath been heard to say that the Dutch were continually complaineing and speakeing bad of the English, but hee had found the Dutch to bee such base lying people that hee could not beleive a word they said; and hee and the King are much out with them at present, and would be so allwayes were it not for their greate presents.[1]

Since the Masulipatam factors had little stock left—and that mostly in debts which, as 'this towne was two-thirds burnt downe the last yeare',[2] were scarcely to be accounted safe—they feared that they would be unable to complete the lading of the *Constantinople Merchant* by the date fixed. Of saltpetre the Company required 200 tons; but

This Kings warrs with Oranzeb hath caused them to take up all the saltpeeter that is made; by which meanes a great deale that wee have had money out for neere two yeares is seized on in the saltpeeters mens hands, and some of that wee had gotten togeither taken away, and the rest stop't; but wee doubt not now suddainely to cleare it.

They begged, therefore, that the Bengal factors would send them 100 tons or more, 'under cullour of some Moore, with all the secrecy immaginable'.

Soon after the arrival of the *Constantinople Merchant*, Jearsey and his colleagues sent (30 May) a fresh budget of papers to Madras. In a letter to Foxcroft they narrated the steps taken to secure the ship against the Dutch and excused their not sending to him the letters from the Company, for fear these should be seized by Winter. As regards political news,

There is but little hope of a peace with the Dutch yet awhile, the French takeing ther parts. Alsoe the Dutch and Dean [i.e. Danes] have made a confederacy; but the Sweed hath a great army afoot, which hee declares against the Dutch; which will countervaile that. Besides, the Bishopp of Munster is a great eyesore to them and did, just upon the comeing out of these shipps, take and kill neare 4,000 Dutch and French in Westphalia neare Bockhott [Bocholt].

This letter was sent open to Proby for delivery, together with one addressed to himself, expressing surprise at his continued

[1] For the Dutch account of these events see *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xxviii. no. 734, and *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1666–7, pp. 172, 280.

[2] See the *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, pp. 273, 275.

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obduracy, and desiring him to make public a paper they enclosed. This was a reply to one which had been drawn up by Smythes and published by Winter's orders, endeavouring to prove, by many citations of precedents, that the arrest of Foxcroft was just and legal. Against this contention Jearsey and his colleagues argued at great length; but want of space forbids a detailed exposition of their contentions.

On 1 August the Masulipatam factors addressed a letter to Winter, Proby, and Chuseman, forwarding letters from Blake and denying that any documents sent to him from Madras had been suppressed at Masulipatam. After a lengthy argument about the meaning of treason, they formally declared that Winter and his confederates would be held liable for all damages accruing to the Company or to the persons whom they had unjustly imprisoned. In conclusion a hint was given that, if the offenders would seek a reconciliation, they might possibly obtain better terms from the Agent and Council than if they persisted until the Company ousted them.

Jearsey and Niclaes now planned another stroke at Winter. As narrated in the last volume, the *Madras Merchant* had, early in 1663, been sent to Siam from Fort St. George, laden mostly with private merchandise. Winter and Chamber were the principal owners, but the latter's share had subsequently been turned over to the Company. The proposal now made was to send a factor from Masulipatam to Siam in an Indian junk to look after the Company's share, and at the same time to seize anything belonging to Winter. The person pitched upon for this employment was Ambrose Salisbury; but after some hesitation he declined, mainly on the ground that he was no longer in the Company's service, Winter having turned him out some time back. Thus foiled, the two factors contented themselves with writing (31 August) to William Acworth, who, upon the death of Dearing, had taken charge of his effects in Siam.[1] He was desired to retain on behalf of the Company anything left by Dearing but claimed by Winter, together with what else he could seize upon belonging to the latter; and he was promised indemnity for so doing. He was further informed that a small vessel was being fitted up at Masulipatam, 'to send

[1] A letter from him to Oxenden, dated 23 October, 1666, forms *O.C.* 3197. It has been printed in Dr. Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam* (p. 103).

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over with some English men to stay in your roome, if the King will not part from all', and to fetch him back. Should this vessel not arrive in time, he was asked to remit as much as he could by some junk.

On 3 September the Masulipatam factors addressed a fresh letter to Bengal. They repeated their request for saltpetre to lade aboard the *Constantinople Merchant*, as they were experiencing difficulty in collecting a sufficient quantity, owing to the King's demands for that commodity for military purposes.

Sir Edward and his confederates are soe farr from thinking of surrendering their usurpt authority and the Fort that they are still thinking of enlargeing their power and ading to their party; and to that purpose, aboute the begining of last moneth, they sent one Francis Brough[1] (under pretence of enquireing after his freinds in England and for letters that the *Constantinople* might have brought) with commissions to seize upon William Jearsey as a traytor. Certainly they thought there was some ill blood amongst us; at least hoped soe, and that thereby their designe would have taken effect, to the ruyne of the Companys buisiness. But God, wee hope, will confound all their devices.

Copies were forwarded of the indictment of Jearsey[2] and also of a rejoinder by Smythes to the reply made at Masulipatam concerning the charge of treason against Foxcroft. Evidently, said the Masulipatam factors, there was no chance of Jearsey being recognized at Madras as Agent, though whether they would be equally recalcitrant if Blake went thither was not so certain,

They haveing pretended all along to bee willing to receive him and surrender the Fort to him. . . . Gentlemen, pray take this into consideration; for the old gentleman the Agent with age and griefe (not soe much for himselfe as those with him) doth begin to droope, and Mr. Sambrooke is said to bee in a condition almost past recovery. . . . Indeed, wee are almost of opinions that if Mr. Blake came 'twould cause some alteration. Sir Edward etc., haveing

[1] In a letter of 20 September the Masulipatam factors ordered Captain Ward to carry Brough home and deliver him to the Company as a delinquent.

[2] For this see P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 52. Jearsey was charged with treasonable practices because (1) he had offered himself as bail for Foxcroft and declared that those who detained him were traitors; (2) he had confiscated Winter's letters to the King and had imprisoned Clopton; (3) he had sent to Madras a commission to certain persons to kill all who opposed Foxcroft's restoration; (4) he had tried to effect the release of Foxcroft by bribery. All loyal subjects were called upon in the King's name to assist in securing Jearsey.

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some information that the French Padrees from St. Thoma kept a correspondence with us and sent us advices of what past thereawayes,[1] sent aboute 15 parryers [pariahs] in the night to kill them; but they had secured themselves in the church, and since that the Governour of St. Thoma, Meir Julfagor [Mīr Zulfikār], hath given them protection and a guard of his souldiers to be alwayes with them.

The letter went on to say that a vessel was reported to have left Goa for Bengal. She would have touched at Masulipatam on the voyage, but for the differences between the Portuguese and the King of Golconda; and on her way back she was to call at Madras. Possibly Winter would take the opportunity to decamp in her. It was reported that he was in correspondence with the Danes at Tranquebar, who, it was supposed, were now at enmity with the English on account of the attack on Bergen.

And hee hath another place that wayes, called Diew,[2] which hee pitch't upon for a refuge (if hee could obteyne it) ever since hee first resolved to raise an estate to himselfe to the Companys dammage and never give any accompt of it. 'Tis most certaine hee will be gone, one way or other; and had hee but what is remayning at Syam, hee would not have stayed soe long.

In order 'to cut him off of that', the factors had for some time been fitting up a vessel to send to Siam; but 'the carpenters, falling out with some other heathens aboute their cast, runn away, that wee could not get men to worke', and this had delayed its completion. They hoped, however, to be yet in time to forestall Winter.

The vessel referred to, which was named the *Recovery* and was manned with a number of Englishmen under Anthony Graves as sailing master, was ready by 21 September, when Jearsey and Niclaes issued instructions to Francis Nelthrop and Benjamin Little to embark in her for Tenasserim. Thence the former was to travel by land to Ayuthia, where he was to secure all proceeds of the cargo of the *Madras Merchant*. If possible, they were to return in November, bringing Acworth with them, if he would come.

[1] An obsolete term, meaning 'in those parts'.

[2] Apparently Divi Island (also called Dio and Diu) is intended. The factors seem to have been rather hazy as to its situation, for in point of fact it is only 16 miles south of Masulipatam. It is now joined to the mainland.

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From correspondence that passed between the Masulipatam factors and Fleetwood, who had been sent into the neighbouring districts to provide saltpetre, it appears that a project was set on foot to obtain a *farmān* from the King of Golconda, giving the English a monopoly of the purchase of saltpetre, provided that they furnished the King with 500 candy yearly, on payment of the cost.

In September a fresh packet of letters from Foxcroft was smuggled out of Fort St. George. A covering letter to Jearsey (dated the 8th) mentioned that Sambrook was once more ' with us in our chambers, whither hee was permitted to come after his recovery out of a spotted feavour '. The main item in the packet, however, was a letter to the Company of the same date, narrating the course of events during the year.[1] After a summary of Winter's frauds in his dealings with the Company and his cruelty to the natives who had given information against him, Foxcroft mentioned that Sir Edward had seized Dawes's house and property (leaving Mrs. Dawes destitute) and had turned out of the Fort all soldiers suspected of being well affected towards the Company. Many had fled from Madras, including John Hopkins. Crandon had been put in irons, and for a time tied to a stake, for refusing to recognize Winter's authority. The attempt to regain the Fort had led to the imprisonment of Herries and Brond, besides nine or ten of the soldiers. Winter had also expelled from the town the French padres,

That have lived quietly and peaceablie in it above 20 yeares and have done much good, not onely to the Portingals but also to the natives, being men of prudence and greate cyvilitie and very inoffensive ; yet because, in reference to that protection they have all along had under your goverment, and seing and well understanding the practises of Sir Edward, because they could not nor would comply with him in his usurpation of your authoritie but were willing to doe me any good offices, they are by him turned out of the town, stript of that little sustenance they had. But first he brought in another turbulent preist to set up his church to affront them, and gave him the house of Modana (one of those persons they so burnt and mangled) to make their church for their meeting.

Winter had declared that he would not surrender Madras except

[1] Printed (in part) in Love's *Vestiges of Madras*, vol. i (p. 247).

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at the express command of His Majesty, and it seemed doubtful whether he would do so then.

He hath buisied himself in making bulwarks and fortifications without the Fort and pulling downe hundreds of houses, as if he meant to make it the place of his rest; and fills the Fort with Portingalls in liew of the English that are gone and in prison and dead, and that not of such Portugals as are of the acquaintance of the Padres put out of towne, but of him whome he hath induced, whom he engages to be true to him, as if he were alreadie proprietor of your Fort. . . . At first he boasted you would make him Agent this yeare, and the next with greate confidence that you would make him President, till he was laught and jeered out of that vanitie; but now, since the arrivall of your ship *Constantinople Merchant*, he doth with as much confidence give out that the next yeare there shalbe no Company but that His Majestie will have the trade in his hands and that he shalbe his Governor and Cape Merchant. . . . Your ship *Constantinople* appeared here the 16th of May; and but verie lately before here came and rode at anchor five Dutch ships, on purpose to waite for any ship that should come hether; and presently upon making of her set saile in chase of her. But she put out to sea againe, and by night they lost sight of her and came againe to an anchor in sight of the Fort to watch for her if she returned. Sir Edward, hearing they were to the southward, sent Mr. Probye and Smythis, with about 80 soldiers, English and Portingalls, with an intent to have possessed himself of your treasure in her, either by fraud or force, and staid abroade about 10 daies, and in the meane tyme made lights and fires every night in the Fort to intice her in, notwithstanding the Dutch lay in waite so as that she could not possiblie have escaped; but he fansied that for the securitie of the treasure they would soone send it ashore, and he would not have bene wanting to use all diligence to possess himself of that, and then he would not have cared what became of the ship and goods. . . .But the ship went for Metchlepatan, and by the mercy of God arrived there, and continues in safety.

After a modest reference to his own sufferings, and an assurance that he was in perfect health, Foxcroft intimated his readiness either to continue at his post or to return to England, if it were thought necessary in order to answer the charge made against him. He testified warmly to the assistance rendered by Oxenden and Jearsey, and intimated that if the Company thought fit to appoint the latter to succeed to the Agency, he himself would cheerfully submit.

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On 27 October Foxcroft wrote, by way of Masulipatam, to Oxenden at Surat, thanking him for his intervention and giving some account of Winter's cruelty towards every one suspected of disaffection. Sambrook had lately been brought to Foxcroft's room, while recovering from a spotted fever, in hope, it was thought, that he would give the infection to his fellow prisoners. When he was found to have recovered, he was taken back to the godown, where he had Herries for his companion. Nathaniel Foxcroft, being ill with pleurisy, was refused the help of a surgeon to bleed him; and a sergeant who kindly performed that office for him was put into irons. Winter had recruited for his guard not only 'Portingalls' but 'Rashbootes';[1] but notwithstanding his precautions he was evidently uneasy.

The letters from the Company brought by the *Return* to Surat in November included two for Madras, and these were doubtless forwarded by Oxenden to Jearsey at Masulipatam. The first was dated 7 March, 1666, and acknowledged the receipt of letters from Madras of 4 and 5 February, 1665, which are not extant. It intimated that, in recognition of his good service, Sambrook's salary had been raised to 70*l.* per annum, commencing from his arrival at Fort St. George. The rest of the letter was mainly occupied with the intelligence that the French had joined the Dutch in the war, and the consequent necessity of watching the proceedings of the French padres at Madras and of keeping the Fort and garrison prepared to repel any attack.

The second letter (10 March), though shorter still, is of special interest, because it introduces into Anglo-Indian nomenclature the title of Governor. Its recent charter (3 April, 1661) had empowered the Company to appoint Governors of any of its factories, forts, or colonies, and had granted to such Governors and their Councils authority to try civil or criminal causes and inflict punishment accordingly. The Company had appointed Governors for St. Helena and Pulo Run, but had been in no hurry to make a change in the designation of their chief officials in India or to provide machinery for the trial of criminals. In point of fact there seemed

[1] Hutchins (see p. 120 *n.*) declared that Winter had engaged '200 Rashbutts or souldiers' for his personal guard. For similar examples of the term Rājput for a Hindu soldier see p. 105 of the 1655–60 volume, and pp. 36, 285 of that for 1661–4.

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to be little need for such machinery; and possibly some doubt was felt whether it would be wise to test the validity of powers of so important a nature, if exercised without the sanction of an Act of Parliament. Ordinary offences could be punished by fine or imprisonment without any question being raised; while in the case of more serious charges against Englishmen deportation home for trial seemed to be a safer course to adopt. However, the Company's hands were forced in a curious way. Mrs. Ascentia Dawes—wife of the unfortunate man who was killed in Winter's outbreak, and herself (to judge from her name) a member of one of the Portuguese families resident in Madras—beat a slave girl so severely that she died; and thereupon a clamour arose that the culprit should be tried on the capital charge. The Agent and Council reported the matter to the home authorities, asking how they should proceed, in the letters of February, 1665, which, as we have seen, are missing; and the Company now made the following reply:

Having received from you an account of that cruell act laid to the charge of Mistress Dawes upon one of her slaves, wee thought it our duty that the law might have its due procedings in that case upon her. For that end wee serched our charter, wherein wee find that the respective Governours and Councells established by us in any of our fortes, townes, etc. have power to exequute judgment in all causes, civill and criminall. Neverthelesse, for our and your better satisfaction herein, wee thought fitt, not onley to advise with His Majesties learned councell upon the clause in our charter which giveth such power, butt also to make our addresses unto His Majestie for his speciall allowance and direction, as you will perceive by His Majesties letters and by a coppy of the said clause of our charter, together with the Sollisitor Gennerall his opinion thereupon and directions in the case, which wee have herewith sent you. And to the end wee might the more exactly persue the words of our charter, wee have thought fitt to constitute you Governour of our Towne and Forte, where the fact was committed, as well as Agent, and to apoint you a Councell under our seale; which, together with some instructiones and directiones how to proceede in the triall of this woman and of such as were assistants to her (if any were), wee have likewise herewith sent you.

This letter was addressed to 'Our Governour and Agent and Counsell in Fort St. George', a style afterwards varied to 'Our Agent, Governor, and Counsell'. The list of packet shows that it

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was accompanied by a commission under the Company's seal and 'the Agent and Counsells patent', as well as by forms of two indictments against Mrs. Dawes and of two more 'against the slaves'. Volume 42 of the *Home Miscellaneous* series contains (pp. 121–6) copies of (1) the indictments against Mrs. Dawes [1] and the two slaves charged with assisting her, (2) the directions for the trial, (3) the opinion and directions of the Solicitor-General (Sir Heneage Finch), and (4) the royal commission under the privy seal, dated 27 February, 1666, authorizing the trial of Mrs. Dawes. It ordered that she should first be brought before a grand jury of twenty-four men, and then, if a true bill were found, should be tried by another jury; if pronounced guilty, she was then to be executed.

The commission, of which no copy has survived, was doubtless (the Company being as yet ignorant of Winter's outbreak) made out in the name of Foxcroft, 'who must accordingly be regarded as the first of the long line of Governors of Madras' (Love's *Vestiges*, vol. i. p. 274). After his reinstatement, Mrs. Dawes was duly brought to trial and a true bill was found by the grand jury; but the further trial resulted in her acquittal, to the amazement of those who had followed the evidence.

The *Constantinople Merchant* seems to have sailed for England about 7 January, 1667, for she carried home a letter [2] of that date from the Masulipatam factors. This reported the capture of Winter's *Preventer* and the confiscation of the broadcloth he had sent to Masulipatam. The dispatch of Nelthrop to Siam was also mentioned. Complaint was made that the Bengal factors had neglected to send down any saltpetre, while that provided locally had been seized for the King's use. Niclaes had been deputed to Golconda to secure its release, but had been as yet only partially successful. Another object of his mission was to obtain a monopoly

[1] This document, which doubtless followed the usual legal forms, is amusing in its determination to leave the accused no loophole of escape. It recites that Mrs. Dawes, on 2 February, 1665, with a stick, value one penny, struck the deceased a blow on the head from which she 'then and theire instantly died': that the accused then struck another blow, this time on the breast, which killed the girl, if not dead already: and that she then proceeded to put a cord, value twopence, round the neck of the girl and hang her to a beam, thus causing her death if this had not already taken place. The hanging of the body was evidently intended to suggest suicide.

[2] Available only in extracts or abstracts.

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of the trade in saltpetre, but the Golconda officials were demanding hard termes ' for such a grant. The letter continues:

These countreys in former times were governed by the Kings servants, who were allowd a sallary, but now is rented out to some of the great men, who lett it out to others and they farme it out to others againe under them ; [so] that in the place of one formerly, there is five now, and every one seekes to make what he cann. [So] that wee are extreemely troubled to pass our goods, being stopt allmost at every towne for junckan,[1] which, if once [it] were paid at one place, will bee exacted at all. [So] that wee are forced to lett our goods lye untill we procure an order from the Seirkall to lett them to pass ; and then carrying them a little farther, they are stopt by an other, soe that wee must procure an other to him. For, say they, wee are to pay a certaine rent, whither soe much be made of their countrey or not, and there is noe exceptions made for any mans goods to pass free without payment ; soe that they will have an order to shew for all the goods they lett goe, that they may have it cutt out of their rent. Neither doth our generall phirmaund helpe us at all in this ; for although it is said that wee are free to trade in the Kings dominions, yet it doth cheifely respect this goverment of Metchlepatan, which is now divided amongst a great many, Pettepolee, Candapolee [Kondapalli], and divers others, [that] were formerly all under the Governor of Metchlepatam, which are now soe many distinct goverments. Besides, in that phirmaund wee are tyed to a great many inconveniences, as the giveing the Governor, at the arrivall of every shipp, an accompt of her cargo, which hee is to dispeed to the King, who is to have the refusall of all and take what he pleaseth ; and if their happen any differences, wee are to assist the Governor of Metchlepatan against them, [by] which may be meant Dutch or Portaguize, as well as any other. And besides all this, tis in express words that wee are to piscash the Governors of Metchlepatam that shall bee 600 or 800 pagodas every yeare.[2] How this hath bin excused wee cannot well tell, unless by giveing the Governours in former times something in privett which they might keep to themselves, that caused them to neglect it. But with our other buisiness Mr. Niclaes hath order to get the phirmaund renewed, after a draught that wee have made ; which hee writes hee hopes to effect very suddainely, and soe by degrees take away some other rubs in our buisiness, and all under one charge gett an order from the King for the seizeing Sir Edward and setting the Agent at

[1] A toll (*chungam*). Under the 'Golden Farmān' of 1634 (see the 1634–6 volume, p. 14) the English were to be free of duties throughout the Golconda kingdom.

[2] But see the 1634–6 volume, p. 18.

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libertie; which were easly done, and Mr. Niclaes adviseth the King hath consented to it, and expects his chopp [i.e. signed grant], both for this and a new phirmaund, very suddainely. But for the saltpeeter, their demands are soe great that we must consider a little more before we meddle with it.

The terms were that the English should pay 500 pagodas down and deliver 500 candies of saltpetre within two months;[1] further, that they should supply the King with 500 candies each year, on repayment. The factors thought that the outlay would be recouped before long, inasmuch as they hoped to get the saltpetre 20 per cent. cheaper than before, besides the advantage of being able to procure it freely. Of the goods brought by the *Constantinople Merchant*, the broadcloth remained unsold, and there was no demand for the quicksilver or the lead. Coral found a market chiefly at Madras, and so far only about the cost price had been offered for it. The alum fetched 20 old pagodas the candy.

We were neare three moneths before we could dispose of the gold, for which a great while together they would give but 56 pagodas old for the seare of nyne ounces of standard; but by degrees [we] brought it up to 57¾, and att that price we sold it. It would not have yeelded much more, if it had bin coyned into new pagodas, which were att 146 for 100 old. Silver is very low att present; not worth above 4 pagodas the seare of 9 ounces standard or ryall silver. Tis a strange abuse in this countrey that sheroffs[2] have the power of raisinge and lowering the price of bullion as they please, and twere worth the while if it could be remedied; which we have endeavoured, but to noe purpose.[3] Could most of the gold the Company intend for these parts be coyned into new pagodas in England, of the same goodnes and stampe of these att the Fort, and brought ashoare undiscovered, it would advance the price.

In connexion with the Madras currency a document which occurs in *Fact. Rec., Miscell.*, vol. 3 (p. 97), is of considerable interest. This purports to be a 'copie of a paper from Mr. Phillipp Gyfford touching the finenesse of pagothes', and probably the original was

[1] From a later document (*Fact. Rec., Miscell.*, vol. 3, p. 135) it appears that this quantity was due to the King from certain merchants, who were thereupon to make good to the English the saltpetre. The document referred to shows that the *farmān* was granted in due course.

[2] Shroffs (Arabic *sarrāf*), i. e. money changers, bankers, &c.

[3] See the remarks on p. 33 of the 1655–60 volume.

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delivered to the Company in 1666. 'Phillipp Gyfford', however, is evidently a mistake for William Gifford, who left Madras for England early in 1665.

Concerning coynage, we first take an essay of the gold and the weight before it goeth into the Mint, and then appoynt some one of the Companies servants to sit by while it is melting. Afterwards we weigh it again and make upp the accompt of the losse in meltinge, and for every 128 oz. the shereoffs allow 1161 pa[godas]; and yet 128 oz. weigh 1162 pa[godas], but they will not allow more, in regard they have ever accompted after that rate and say they should loose if they should doe otherwise; but if in any thinge they gaine, I conceive it is in this particuler. Soe then afterwards we take another essay, and if it be lesse then the matt[1] pa[goda], then each $\frac{1}{4}$ pa[goda] matt looseth $2\frac{7}{8}$ pa[goda] per 100 in makeing fine; and if above pa[goda] matt, then each $\frac{1}{4}$ matt will require in every 100 three pa[godas] lesse $3\frac{1}{2}$ fanams (each pa[goda] being 9 fanams in weight) for allay; and $\frac{1}{4}$ matt above the pa[goda] matt in finenesse is worth 10 fanams 8 cash. The standard of the pa[goda] is $8\frac{5}{8}$ or [8]$\frac{3}{4}$ matt. The English *20s.* is somewhat more then 9 of the said matts fine. Five per mille is allowed on the customes for coynage (half to the Companie and the other half to the Kinge), and $6\frac{1}{8}$ per mille for the labourers, besides for charcoale, oile, etc. One-fifth part copper and four-fifths silver is the allay.[2] . . . The shereoffs have a sett of these matts, tyed together uppon a stringe; which if you had here, you might make upp the accompt of the gold yourselves before it goeth out. . . . Sand gold from Guinea doth usually make from $8\frac{3}{4}$ to 9 pa[godas] per oz, and not more. . . . and soe ingotts according to the finenesse, more or lesse.

THE ENGLISH IN BENGAL, 1666

THE part played by Blake and his colleagues in the attempts to overturn Winter's usurped authority has been described in the previous chapter; and the paucity of documents available leaves us much in the dark as to the other activities of the factors in Bengal. Their chief concern throughout the year was the state of the two vessels—the *Greyhound* and the *American*—that had reached

[1] This is said to be from a Tamil word, meaning the 'touch' or fineness of gold, used in a similar way to our 'carat'.

[2] Gifford here gives a table (as used at the Mint) showing how the value of pagodas varied in relation to the 'matts', ranging from 2 'matts' (at which 10 pagodas were only worth $2\frac{1}{4}$) to $9\frac{1}{2}$, $8\frac{3}{4}$ being the standard.

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Balasore in August 1665, and had there been blockaded by the Dutch.[1] The climate soon worked havoc among the officers and crew, and a letter of 20 April, 1666, from Hūgli to Masulipatam reported that the *American* had lost all her men except about ten, and the command had devolved upon the purser, John Evans. The *Greyhound* was in a better case, for over thirty of her crew were living, besides one of the mates, John Vincent, who had taken charge as master. He had sent the purser (Brond) to the Coromandel Coast to procure sailors and money, and, if these were obtained, he was of opinion that the ship might go home that season. The factors, however, thought that the venture would be too hazardous, thought it might be attempted if the ship or ships expected from England should come to Balasore. In a letter to Surat of 12 April they gave it as their decided opinion that the two vessels 'must lie, warres or peace, till they can be refurnished with both men and provisions'. In the same letter they said that the Dutch

Vie high with mony, bribing all that may stand them in any stead; the which in these parts is the most effectuall oratour, that whatsoever abuse they commit upon us will scarce be taken notice of. . . . Notwithstanding the small stocke wee received this yeare, wee have 650 tuns of saltpeter, besides other goods, which lie ready to be shipped of from hence and Ballasore; and may this yeare from Pattana receive about 200 or 250 tuns more of peter, the which troubles us to think must lie here all or the greatest part another, perhaps two yeares more. If the Company doe not this yeare supply us with a stock, their businesse in the Bay will be totally overthrown, the manufactures at Pattana and Cassumbazar (which now are brought to a perfection through a continued and great charge) be lost, and not brought into the same posture they are in in some yeares and at a new expence. But our masters will not please to hearken to us for the leaving a quick stocke to make provision before hand, nor for the disbursing a summe to gaine priviledges and a remedy for the insufferable abuses wee receive, though the disgrace, affronts, molestations, injuries and forces wee dayly suffer carry away and prejudice our masters to a farre greater amount and in a small time, as they will perceive by what wrongs they have received in the Bay in their trade since Shasta Caunes government, of whose avarice, villany, and oppression wee can't complaine enough, nor descend to perticulers, since

[1] Bernier mentions that he saw the two ships at Balasore (ed. Constable, p. 441).

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injustice is his generall exercise. If Your Worshipp . . . doe seek for any remedy or redresse at court, wee desire that what phirmaund you take out may interest and perticulerly expresse their trade in the Bay, and that, if possible, there may be incerted those liberties and priviledges wee formerly desired you to procure for Bengall and Orixa. If a sudden remedy be not procured and our masters induced to send annually larger stockes hither, this trade will neither give them content nor proffit, nor us credit; for wee are so farre from the court, governed by so unjust a Nabob, and under him by as bad Governours, who have paid for a licence to oppresse, having bought their places of him, that, had wee Jasons fleece, they would sheer us of it in time, unlesse wee found the meanes to trade more largely, that the greatnesse of the expence might be buried in the vastnesse of the investment. For these people cannot be brought proportionably to open their mouthes to the smallnesse of our trade, but stand hungerily gaping, ready to devour it at once, not by morsells.

In an earlier letter, sent from Balasore to Masulipatam on 19 January, the Bengal factors had referred to the great influence enjoyed by the Dutch.

Wee are sorry to heare the Dutch have deserted Rackan [i. e. Arakan], conceiveing it arrises from their promise to assist the King in the conquest of said country; which their assistance will tend much to their reputation in these parts and throughout India, and much advance their commerce. Pray God send good news from England and that His Majesties fleet has given theirs some notable overthrough; otherwise their insolencies will raigne ashore and by the Moores bee wincked at, and bee deafe to our complaints, as they are to our losses sustained by them in this roade.

The factors' letter to Masulipatam of 20 April, already mentioned, stated that they had received from Jan Velters (see p. 137) a sum of 25,000 rupees and had delivered him bills of exchange on the Company. They had had to borrow some money 'to keepe our best petre men from deserting us', and to enable their debtors to earn money and thus pay what they owed. They continued:

Though wee have at present litle or noe buisiness of our masters to mannage, yet wee are not free from troubles under this Nabobs goverment. 'Tis credibly reported that Ballasore and Piply by the Kings order is reduced and brought under the province of Bengall; which wee can't but lament, especially at this time, it falling

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under the power of a person most unjust and soely addicted to covetiousness. Wee much feare the yearly present of this place (3,000 rupees) will bee exacted, though wee may have noe shipp arrive; the rent and custome of this towne [i. e. Hūgli] being his jaggeer.

The letters from the Company brought by the *Constantinople Merchant* to Masulipatam in May included one for Bengal. This was a copy of a letter dated 18 September, 1665, which apparently had been lost on its way overland. It directed the factors to buy yearly from 300 to 500 tons of saltpetre, in order to keep the trade on foot and prevent the Dutch from monopolizing it.

Writing on 16 July, the Masulipatam factors suggested that, if the *Dorcas* (see p. 239) should succeed in reaching Bengal, she and the *Greyhound* might come in company to Masulipatam, provided that protection might be relied upon whilst the vessels were in Bengal waters; and this opinion they repeated in a letter of 3 September, adding that they might be able at Masulipatam to provide the *Greyhound* with half a score of English sailors and a mate or two.

On 26 September Blake and Elwes wrote from Hūgli to Surat. The *American* and *Greyhound* were still ' in their docks in Ballasore River ', and there seemed to be no hope of providing them with crews. Cargoes for them were lying ready in Balasore, but some apprehension was felt as to the safety of the goods from fire, ' being under thatcht houses, where wee have noe warehouses nor can procure any '.

The 29th of May it pleased the Almighty to arrive in safety shipp *Dorcas*, of burthen 75 tuns, with a small stock of silver and commodities amounting to 2,788*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.* She [is] at present in Ballasore River, where she is fitted for nimble sayling, and, God willing, will be readie with her lading to saile out to sea for England by the last of this month or begining of next; which is conceived a good time, the winds then shifting, and that the Dutch (for feare of a yearly storme) will secure theire shipps in Huglie River. But if any should bee out, she may, God willing, proceed without any probable danger, she sailing very well. . . . Wee here still remaine under the goverment of Shauisteh Caun, a most unjust and covetous person. . . . He has lately gotten the goverment of Ballasore and Pipley, port townes formerly under the Nabob of Orixa. He has bine fortunate in his warrs against Arachan, having nere made

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a conquest of said countrey; which has brought him in much favour with the King his master, and withall, being allied with him, the Duan, etc. great persons at court, he governs at will. We are not the only sufferers, nor the greatest; the Dutch have their share, and all merchants, with the natives. This kingdome [is] allmost ruined by him and his governours, to whom he sells places, and to the person that bids most.

The transfer of Balasore and Pippli to Shāista Khān is reported in a letter from the Dutch Governor-General and Council to the Directors in Holland 15/25 January, 1667 (*Hague Transcripts* at I.O., series 1. vol. xxviii. no. 734), as follows:

Ghosia Mameth Isop [Khwāja Muhammad Yusuf], Governor of Pipely and Bellesoor, having been much harassed by the exactions of Chan Doura [Khān Daurān], Nawab of Orixa, fled to Decca with 16 or 18 armed vessels (which had been equipped for the Arakanese war) and there placed himself under the protection of Cha Estachan [Shāista Khān]. By the favour of the Emperor the government of the latter was extended into Orixa, the aforesaid Bellesoor and Pipelie being withdrawn from Chan Doura. It is thought that Mameth Isop will probably be restored to his post. Cha Estachan being now the master of these seaports, it will be more than ever necessary to gain his favour.

The *Dorcas* brought a letter from the Company, dated 18 December, 1665. In this the Committees sent the Bengal factors much the same intelligence as that given in the corresponding dispatch to Madras by the *Constantinople Merchant*. The cargo of the former vessel was stated to be of the value of 2,789*l.*, in broadcloth, lead, quicksilver, vermilion, alum, and silver ingots (1,236*l.*), besides a supply of wine and beer. The two ships had been instructed to keep company as far as Madras, and then the *Dorcas* was to continue her voyage to Balasore. After relading as quickly as possible, she was to return direct to England. Her cargo should not include turmeric, lac, or sugar. A supply of saltpetre should be sent to the Coast in Indian shipping, to be ready for the vessel to be expected the following season. Although the subordinate factories had been given permission to address the Company direct, this was not intended to preclude their giving a full account of their transactions to the Agent and Council at Madras. All general letters, therefore, should in future be sent through the Agent,

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and left open for perusal. A postscript recommended the dispatch to St. Helena per the *Dorcas* of six or eight 'lusty, able, young' Indians, skilled in handicrafts; also butter and other suitable supplies.

That the *Dorcas*—which was one of the smallest vessels ever sent to India, and the first to make a direct voyage from England to Bengal—sailed safely away we know from later correspondence. She got nearly to the Scillies on her homeward voyage, and then her luck deserted her, for she was captured by a 'privateir of Flushing' and carried into Brest. The date of her departure from Balasore was evidently towards the close of September, 1666, for mention is made in later correspondence of a letter of the 20th (with a postscript of the 26th) of that month, sent in her to the Company, but no longer extant. Of another letter carried by that vessel, dated 7 September, an abstract is available in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 3 (p. 47). It was written by Thomas Stiles and contained a violent attack upon Blake, with an intimation that further charges would be forthcoming as soon as the writer was out of Blake's power. Stiles alleged that the Chief kept all transactions in the hands of himself and his Banyans, and all the books of accounts were under lock and key; 'soe that most of the Companies factors know little more then when it is dinner or supper time'. The broker, 'Narrandas', it was stated, took advantage of his position to embezzle broadcloth and quicksilver, the value of which was then written off to profit and loss. As regards Blake's private trade,

Hee brought with him, in silver, gold, and toyes, £1200 sterling. He borrowed of Agent Chambers at the Fort 4,000 pagodas, which was sent on the *Madrass* in callicoes to Syam. At his arriveall into the Bay he bought of the Dutch in spice 12,000 rupees, which in sending to Pattana was cast away in the river Ganges. Mr. Blake lookes on his Syam adventure as a bad debt. His adventures to sea since his arriveall has ben only two; once to Maldeiva, once to Persia on the ship *Mathew and Thomas*, by which he gott £2,000 sterling cleare. That yeare when the *Katherine* was theire,[1] hee sent home to his father and Mr. George Papillion to about 12,000 rupees; on Capt. Millner etc. the yeare following to the same

[1] The *Royal Katherine* left Madras for England in January, 1664, and the *Coronation* Milner's ship) a year later.

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parties 20,000 rupees, and that yeare 4,000 pagodas to Agent Chamber to cleare his debt; and at present he is worth in Bengalla about 80,000 rupees. Soe that in four yeares heere is 130,000 rupees extracted out of nothing. . . . Mr. Trevisa, to gaine Mr. Blakes favour, gave him 2,000 rupees to buy him and his wife [1] rings, and also charged 7,000 rupees paid out of the Companies cash for the bills drawn on Mr. Blake which came back protested, which Mr. Blake ought to have sattisfied, it being for his debts. . . . As bussines goes now, hee that would live quietly and not threatned to be sent home, must learne to see, to heare, and hould his tongue; that when he comes to rule, hee may gett an estate in the same manner. Hee [Stiles] is troubled to live four yeares the Companies factor and yett not suffered to know any thing of the Companies affaires or see any letters that come and goe from the factory, although none but he and Mr. Bridges resides at Ballasore. . . . The Cheife lookes on himselfe as a prince, and all under him as necessitated persons; and if any take notice of passages that may heereafter call his creditt in question, then such are threatned to be discharged and sent home. . . . Hee [Stiles] was forced to signe papers which Mr. Blake drew up; otherwise had bin sent home. Mr. Blakes comission for building a new house was 2,500 rupees,[2] but it cost much about 12,000 rupees; 7,000 rupees was charged as the cost of the house, and the other 5,000 rupees carryed to other accompts, as Presents, Charges Generall, etc. Theire was no neede of this greate house; for had 1000 rupees ben laid [out] on the old one, it would have made it firme for many yeares. Hugly is an unnecessary factory and only a charge, being a place of no recourse for merchants, little goods being bought or sold theire, it being only supported for the bennefitt of the Cheife by tradeing with the Dutch. Severall live at Ballasore, who have theire ships and [are] not in the Companies service; who make dissentions, and secure contrabond goods in theire houses at the arriveall of ships, speakeing unworthily of the Company and servants, etc. abuses. Mr. Blake has ordered severall of his goods not to be put aboard the *Dorcas*. Soe that the remainder will be about 5,000 rupees.

Of what was going on up country during the year we have little information; but we know that Henry Powell was at Kāsimbāzār, and that Job Charnock was in charge at Patna in July, when he addressed a short note to Surat, forwarding some letters received from Hūgli.

[1] Of Mrs. Blake we know only that her Christian name was Sarah (*O.C.* 3288).

[2] From p. 136 it appears that the limit fixed by the Company was Rs. 1000.

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THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1667

THE documents available for this year are disappointingly few in number and consist chiefly of the letters exchanged with the home authorities, together with records of certain consultations. There are gaps, covering the whole twelve months, in both series of the factory registers of letters received and of letters dispatched.

The administration remained in the same hands as in the previous year. Sir George Oxenden continued to be President, and his Council was composed, as before, of John Goodier, Gerald Aungier, and Randolph Taylor.

On 15 February a contract was signed with Pīru Hingola, the broker who had been employed on previous occasions to provide piece-goods from Agra and its neighbourhood. In consideration of an advance of 30,000 rupees and a commission of 10 per cent., he undertook to procure at his own risk 16,000 pieces of daryābāds (half of large size and the rest of small), and 8,000 pieces of 'mercolees'. He stipulated, however, that he should be guaranteed against any loss resulting from the goods being seized on 'any pretences of old debts, due from our nation, either from the Company or particular persons, as that of Mr. William Jessons debt' (see p. 160).

On 26 March a letter,[1] signed by Oxenden, Goodier, Aungier, and Taylor, was sent overland to the Company. This mentioned that no Dutch vessels had arrived until the beginning of February, when four came in from Batavia, one of which was to proceed to Persia. The reason of their late arrival was surmised to be the rumours spread of the expectation of a fleet from England. The broadcloth brought by the *Return* was very good and sold readily in one lot at a price of 4§ rupees per yard. The 'poppinjaes' [parrot-greens], however, were not much in favour, and 'grass greenes' might be substituted with advantage. Some superfine scarlet cloth should be sent out for presents, as the ordinary kind was not esteemed, and the factors had sometimes been forced to buy from the Dutch,

[1] Some extracts will be found in P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 114, 116.

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whose cloth, both in quality and colour, far exceeded the English. The result of the Dutch commissary's visit to the Persian court was next advised.

One of his cheifest businesses (as wee are informed) was to sollicite that King to sell unto them our moyetie of customes, promising to doe great things in the advance of trade and flourishing of the port again, which now, but for them, was quite forsaken; but they were answered it was a business that required consideration. And in the meane time the Ettaman Dowlet[1] wisht the embassadour to take order for the satisfying unto the King the overplus of customes due for what they had imported and exported over and above the Kings grant to them of 20,000 tomands allowed them free; letting them know that an exact accompt thereof was kept, and that they were indebted thereon; which came so unexpectedly that it silenced the embassadour, and so amus'd [i. e. confounded] him that hee never dare move it afterwards. This passd with the old King, who in a few months after died;[2] wherby their great present is lost, that they must be forced to present a new. The young King now in the throne hath given Mr. Flower audience with great kindness, promiseing to ratifie all his predecessors graunts of privilledges and also enlarge them upon all occations. Here hath like to have been open warrs between this King and the late King of Persia, who put severall affronts and indignities upon this Kings embassadour;[3] whereupon here hath been a strict embargo upon all jounks and vessails, that none were permitted to voyage either to Persia or Bussorah; also great armyes prepared and set forward against Chandahar, designing by that passage to enter Persia. But upon certaine notice of the death of that King, all is laid aside and the jounks licensed to voyage where their occations shall consigne them. Wee doe not cease to write on all opportunities for the getting away the woole so long provided and lodged in Bunder [i. e. at Gombroon]; but

[1] The Itimād-uddaula, or chief minister.

[2] Shāh Abbās II died near Dāmghān in the middle of September, 1666, and was succeeded by his son Safi, who a little later adopted the title of Shāh Sulaimān. Flower and Swinglehurst, having obtained permission from Surat to go to court in order to counteract the intrigues of the Dutch, were at Ispahān when the news of the King's death arrived (22 September), and witnessed the installation of his successor (see their letter to the Company of 26 October). Chardin's *Couronnement de Soleimaan* (1671) gives (p. 5) an account of the King's death, which is also mentioned in the *Report on the Finch MSS.*, vol. i (p. 453).

[3] See *Ibid.*, p. 438; (P.R.O.) *C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 53, 54; Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. ii. pp. 128, 146, 149; Jean de Thevenot's *Suite du Voyage* (1727), vol. iii. p. 340; Chardin, *ut supra*, p. 303; the narrative of John Campbell (*Indian Antiquary*, 1908); Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, vol. iii. p. 124; *Dagh-Register, Batavia*, 1665, pp. 319, 367. The ambassador's name was Tarbīyat Khān.

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they write us [that] so long as the Dutch have the smallest vessaile in the road, no jounks dare receive it.

The letter went on to say that the barbarous treatment of the factors at Calicut had been advised already. A broker had since been sent thither overland (passage by sea being impossible, as the Dutch denied passes to all vessels), with letters to the Rāja and his ministers, reminding them of the promises on the faith of which the factory was established. No ships being available, it was impossible to fetch away either the merchants or the goods they had collected.

The Grand Turkes sending an army upon Bussorah was the cause of the miscarriage of your letters to us; and what success ours have had to you wee know not, but feare they will be long upon the way. . . . Wee are troubled to thinke that this conveighance will still be obstructed; for wee are informed by the Consull of Aleppo that the Grand Signor is intended to reduce and take in those territoryes of Bussorah under his owne government, whereas formerly the Basshaw was an Arrab and only tributary. This change must needs make the wayes dangerous for travellers for some yeares.

Richard Lambton had recently petitioned the President and Council to force a Banyan to satisfy a debt due to him, but had been told in reply that, in obedience to the Company's instructions, they must refrain from concerning themselves with transactions in matters of private trade and that he must 'apply himselfe to the justice of the country'.[1]

Wee cannot meddle in it without doing injustice to the one or th' other; for the deceased brother John stands indebted a great summ to this Banian, which (hee saith) the two surviving engaged to see satisfied; upon which hee detaines this money. Now most of our dealings in these parts are done by word of mouth, without any writings, and is good amongst the people; whereas in England our law is intricate. So that what may be law here will not stand there, and so wee shall involve our selves in trouble when wee come home. Besides, it will yet further engage us; for it will be said that, if wee can compell any to pay debts, wee ought as reasonably cause satisfaction to be made them from others that are indebted to them. Wee had like to have undergone a great deale of trouble the last yeare, and your Agra goods all attached by Mr. Jessons[2]

[1] See the record of a consultation held at Surat on 9 February, 1667.

[2] See p. 160. The late William Jesson, while Chief at Agra, had borrowed largely for his

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creditors; but keeping a good correspondence with Jaffer Ckaun, the second person in the kingdome, befreinded us greatly; for that there were two petitions intended to be preferred to the King for justice against us, that satisfaction might be made; which debt is now swollen to more then one hundred thousand rupees. Which petition the said Jaffer Ckaun reading, tore it and dismist the petitioners. The next time hee cancelled the second, and caused them that delivered it to be beat out of the court. Yet did they not desist, but were at the charge to procure the delivery of it by a private hand to the King, who, reading the contents, gave it unto Jaffer Ckaun to enquire into the business; and finding it to be the same that formerly had lighted into his hand, hee presently retourned answere to the King that hee had formerly examined that business and found it false. So the creditors were againe tourned out of court; which hath disheartened them from prosecuting it at present. And this brings us to acquaint you further that wee are necessitated to owne your investments in those parts of Agra etc. for severall reasons: first, in regard this King hath lately commanded that five per cent. be taken from all the Banian merchants throughout his dominions,[1] and that to be paid up in the country where the goods are bought, from whence they are to bring to this custome howse a certificate; which oft times the officers here will not owne, but require them to pay their customes againe, or their goods will not be permitted to be shipt off. Besides, they all pay great dutyes upon the way at very many places as they come along, and other exactions, that makes the goods swell in price considerably; whereas wee are, by a grant from the King, exempted from all way duties, and pay but three per cent. at the shipping off the goods. Which wee thought necessary to let you know, that if any attachment shall happen hereafter, wee must strugle with it the best wee can, and hope to overcome our opposers, if you will give us leave to resist force with force, in case any shall be offerred us. Here is arrived from Portugall in September last a new Vice Roy[2] to Goa, who hath busied himselfe ever since his coming in providing and setting forth a considerable fleet of eight shipps and 40 in 60 small frigatts; with which hee hath declared to goe himselfe in person, but the designe not certainly knowne. Some say for Muscat, now in the possession of the Arab; others beleive to Cong, a port a little above Gombrone, belonging to the King of Persia, where the moyetie of customes is due to them, and [they] have met with the same usage with us, taking what was

own private trade, and had doubtless used the Company's credit for this purpose (see the 1655–60 volume, pp. 14, 72, &c.).

[1] See Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol. vii. p. 293.

[2] João Nunes da Cunha, Conde de S. Vicente.

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given them, untill the last yeare, that the Portugall Feitore or Customer, finding so great difficultie in procuring a small inconsiderable summ and that the Persians dayly slighted and affronted him, left the place and retired to Goa. Which two enterprizes may be done both in one, and are the most seeming and probable. But some Portugalls will have it to be against Cochin, and also talke of Ceilon, nay, Batavia it selfe; and to make it the better to be creditted, they have fancied to themselves 12 gallions to come from Portugall, and six or more of our Kings frigatts to joyne with them; but this wee thinke is what they would have, not what will be. However, those preparations here hath put these people into a fright, and the more in regard the Vice Roy hath commanded the Governour of Daman to give no passes to these jounks, who were yearly wont to receive them from thence. So that they must saile without; which much troubles them to thinke how the Portugalls will deale with them. This wee deemed necessary your knowledg, that so, if you intend to insert [assert?] your right in Persia, it may be done before the Portugall become too powerfull in the Gulph.

In view of the promise of the Company that a ship would be sent that year, the President and Council had arranged for the provision of about 500 tons of goods. These

Will come the cheapest to you of any goods [that] have been sent hence these 20 yeares. For, taking the advantage of this Kings laying an embargo upon all vessails, great and small, which occationed all trade to cease for some months, and also wrought with others that had goods to sell them at very low rates; which proved your gaine, for, having money, wee bought up all that was proper for the Europe marketts; which very goods, presently upon the taking off the embargo, rise in a little space to some 15 to 50 per cent. dearer then before. The transactions of the French have been much wondered at by all. One of the two that came hither and went up to court (hee that was sent from the King of France with letters recommendatory) hath been much slighted and at last is gone away alone, some say to Bengala,[1] leaving his consort, who, after a tedious attendance finding none that would preferr his cause to the King, in regard hee came emptie handed, was retourning hither, but was rob'd of all hee had, one dayes journey out of Agra, and received three or four wounds; which coming to the Kings eare, [he] tooke pitty on him, sent for him back, gave

[1] This was De la Boullaye. He duly arrived at Patna, and from thence set out for Dacca. Nothing more was heard of him, and it was concluded that he had been murdered by robbers (see *Report on the Finch MSS.*, vol. i. p. 507, and *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xxviii. no. 736). Béber's journey from Agra to Surat is described by Tavernier.

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particular order for his cure, and afterwards admitted him into his presence, received his petition, gave order that hee should be paid out of his treasury what was pretended to be taken from him, tooke suretieship of the broker that they should, upon arrivall of the French shipps, give a very considerable present to the King, and upon this condition a phirmaun was graunted that they should be permitted to inhabitt and trade in the country; wherewith hee and the broker that is oblidged for him are come hither, but as yet no French shipps appeare;[1] [so] that the broker (whose howse and family is in Agra) dares not goe back without the promised present. Besides, there is another thing in the way. The King hath since been informed that the Frenchman hath put a cheat upon him, by pretending his loss to be treble what it was; which will, tis thought, occation further examination of that business.[2] So that this, with his hastie and peevish nature, affronting all that came nere him, either with foule language or blowes, hath brought upon him much contempt and slighting of the whole towne, that now no body comes at him. And those at Persia have fared no better, by their debauched life, publikely caressing with their whores in common gardens about the towne; which did so incense the Governour etc. that they caused one of their whores to have her head shaven and led through the towne astride upon an ass back; to prevent which disgrace the Frenchmen issued out of their howse with sword and pistoll in their wenches defence; at which the Persians set upon them and, after that they had well beaten them, carried them to prison, where they contynnued some time, untill they promised more sober behaviour. So that a little opposition will send them back to their country againe; in which they will not want [i. e. lack] the Dutches assistance and our good will. And for these people, they already conceive them to be a saving beggarly nation, and therefore would be glad they were well ridd of them.[3]

A letter from the Bantam factors for the Company, brought secretly by a passenger in a Dutch ship, was forwarded; and the occasion was taken to answer a complaint therein concerning some of the piece-goods supplied to that factory from Surat.

The grand rebell Sevage is escaped cleare and got into his owne

[1] A letter from Aleppo of June, 1667 (noted in the *Report on the Finch MSS.*, vol. i. p. 465), says that Father Ambrose, the head of the French Capuchin mission at Surat, had kept out boats all through September, 1666, to pilot in the expected ships.

[2] Tavernier says that Béber claimed, and was allowed, Rs. 24,000 as compensation of his losses, though the real value was not a twelfth of this.

[3] Ample confirmation of these charges will be found in the pages of Tavernier and Jean de Thevenot. Béber himself seems to have behaved with childish rudeness to every one he met.

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territoryes, doing dayly great mischeife upon Decan [i. e. the Bījāpur kingdom] by robbing and burning severall townes, and is dayly much feared by all the inhabitants here, for it is certainly knowne that hee is fully resolved to vissit Surat once more, that of all sides they are providing to fly up into the country; for tis said hee intends to come both by land and sea, and hath in a readines 50 or 60 small frigatts, which, it is said, are provided on purpose.

Thomas Coates, who was formerly sent to Siam, was in Surat and was claiming money due on account of wages and expenses; the claim appeared reasonable and sanction was asked for payment of the amount. A petition from Coates for employment was transmitted, with a recommendation in his favour. The Company was also reminded of the applications from Mansell Smith, Henry Bromfield, and John Child for employment. A second bill of exchange for the 1,500*l.* paid to Sir Gervase Lucas was forwarded; the third was being retained.

Wee have lately received a letter from one Mr. Thomas Roach,[1] an Englishman, cheife gunner to this King, who, it seemeth, lent some moneys to Mr. William Jesson and Mr. Thomas Andrewes when they lived at Agra, which hee now demands from us in your names, alledging it was lent them in the Honourable Companyes name and for their occations. Hee threatens, upon our refusall to make him satisfaction, to take out an order from the King upon this Governour to force payment. Wee have with what civillitie possible answered his letter; wherein wee endeavour to convince him of the unreasonableness of his demands upon you, and desire him to desist from giving us further trouble, you being in no wise oblidged to make good such unjust pretences. Wee wish wee had your possitive order how to proceed when such troubles shall come upon us; which wee are in dayly feare of, for this Thomas Roach etc. may give us great trouble, being personally present and having the Kings eare.

The Company's packet for Bantam had been forwarded via Goa and Macassar; while transcripts had been sent to Masulipatam for transmission. There was due to their late minister a year's salary and the value of 270 rupees paid into the treasury at Surat; payments should be made accordingly to George L'Escaliot,

[1] See Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. i. pp. 84, &c.; also John Campbell's narrative in the *Indian Antiquary* (1908).

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brother of the deceased. A detailed summary of the Presidency accounts was sent, it being impossible to forward the books until a ship was available.

Those Dutch shipps wee formerly advised you of made no long stay here; one of which went directly for Persia, and the other three back to Cochin to secure that place, for wee perceive the Hollander to be jealous [i. e. suspicious] of the Portugall Vice Kings preparations, fearing hee designes to fall upon that place. Its late in the yeare and no Japan ships [i. e. Dutch ships from Japan] yet come; but two are dayly expected thence with a convoy, for they send no shipps hither of late but what are accompanied with three or four men of warr of 50 and 60 peices of ordnance.

There was a great want of paper and quill pens; a supply should be sent by every ship. After a reference to Bombay affairs, Oxenden ended the letter with a renewal of his request to be released at the expiration of his covenanted time, in order that he might return to England; 'for upon the sad notice of his deare sisters death [see p. 171] hee is like to bee a great sufferer'. This letter reached London on 27 December, 1667.

It is clear from this communication that the Company's letters of 31 August, 14 September, and 5 October, 1666, sent overland, had not then reached Surat. The break in the correspondence prevents our learning whether those packets ever arrived; but in any case it seems desirable to notice their principal contents. In the first of them the Committees expressed their anxiety at the non-arrival of either ships or overland letters from India, but intimated their intention of sending out, about February, 1667, another vessel to Surat, with a stock of fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds. Her return lading should include 100 tons of saltpetre, 50 or 60 bales of Karmān wool, and at least 100 bales of Lahore and 50 of Sarkhej indigo, besides aloes, borax, olibanum, coffee, cotton yarn, and piece-goods. Cowries might be sent as ballast, if saltpetre was not available. The progress of the war with the Dutch was next described, in a passage which has been quoted on p. 178. Letters from the Company to the Madras factors were enclosed; also two from Lord Arlington, addressed to Sir Gervase Lucas and Henry Gary respectively.

The next letter (14 September) forwarded a copy of the foregoing,

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and gave an account of the fire that had recently devastated the capital.

It pleased God that, on the 2d. of this moneth, being Sunday, in the morning a most fearfull and dreadfull fire brake forth, which hath consumed the greatest part of the citty of London, even from Tower Dock to Temple Barr, and almost all within the walls, except part of Marke Lane, Bishopsgate Streete, Leadenhal Streete, part of Broad Streete, and some by the Wall toward Mooregate and Criplegate and part by Christschurch. The sight whereof was exceeding afrightning and astonishing. . . . In this sad callamity God was pleased to bee very favourable to the Companies interest, having preserved most of our goods, excepting some saltpeeter and our pepper at the Exchange sellar.

The third letter (5 October) transmitted a request from Richard Bladwell that certain debts due to him at Surat might be collected and the amount remitted to London by bill of exchange.

The situation at Calicut had long been engaging Oxenden's attention.[1] At a consultation held in Surat on 3 April the position was discussed, and it was determined to direct the factors at Calicut to endeavour to send up their stock of pepper, &c., on freight terms in Malabar vessels, 'who may watch their opportunities to put out when there are none of the enemies vessails there . . . [and] may arrive here seasonably before the enemy shall come upon this coast'. The failure of this plan is alluded to on a later page.

Seven weeks later (22 May) another consultation was held to consider the current investment in piece-goods. A sufficient quantity had already been procured to lade the one ship expected from England, but it was resolved to keep on buying, for several reasons. In the first place the factors were anxious to prevent the weavers from seeking fresh customers; in the second, prices were unusually low, because the Dutch had ceased investing; and thirdly, to continue buying might lead the Dutch to believe that a considerable fleet was expected, 'which may divert the enemy from coming early upon this coast and give us a fitt opportunity to dispatch away the ship expected'. These reasons were thought to justify the resulting outlay, which would run the factors into debt to the extent of about 30,000 rupees.

[1] The records relating to the factories on the Malabar Coast during 1667 are so scanty that it has not been thought worth while to devote a separate chapter to them.

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A letter sent home from Surat on 24 June is no longer extant, and our only information regarding its contents is derived from the Company's reply, dated 14 August, 1668 (*Letter Books*, vol. iv. p. 178).

On the 6th of May last wee received our Presidents letter of 24th June, 1667 (with the enclosed for the Lord Arlington),[1] advising the decease of Sir Jarvaies Lucas and his doubts of differences which were probable to arrise. But being the island of Bombay is now under our government and disposure, wee doubt not but as it will bee much to your sattisfaction; so that our affaires will be carried on without interuption. Wee observe that you were in a readines, expecting the arriveall of our promised ship, and that you were furnisht with betwixt six and seaven hundred tonns of severall sorts of goods. The ship which wee intended you was the *London*, as you will perceive by our letters sent you on our pinnace *Charles*, and therein the reason also why diverted from that voyage. Wee take notice of what you have written as to your labouring at court to get an abatement of our customes, both exported and imported, and that you had received some assurance from Jaffer Cawne that it was in election to be graunted very sudainely, order being issued out for the drawing of a pattent. Wee desire the continuance of your care, as in this, so in all other perticulers, not doubting but you will act in all things as may bee most for our advantage.

The Company's letter referred to, as having been sent by the *Charles*, was dated 16 April, 1667. It announced the arrival of the *African* in the preceding February. As noted later, the *Charles* had been designed for Madras, but was delayed so long, in connexion with the schemes for the recovery of Fort St. George, that that intention was abandoned and the captain was ordered to make for Surat or, if the season were late, for Goa. The vessel's cargo consisted of rials of eight, coral, broadcloth, &c., and the usual commodities were to be sent in return. It had been the Company's intention to dispatch to Surat the *London*, with a stock of about 15,000*l.* or 16,000*l.*; but, in view of the danger from the Dutch, it was decided to send her to Bantam instead. Since commissioners were about to proceed to Breda to negotiate a peace, it was hoped that the war would soon be at an end, and then an ample stock would be sent out. A reminder was given regarding the recovery

[1] For this see p. 295.

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of the amount due from Tulsi Dās. Complaint was made of some defective piece-goods sent home in the *London*. The King had been acquainted with Cooke's seizure of the Surat junk, and had written to Lucas, 'requiring a faire complyance'. The latter was to be furnished with the value of 1,000*l.*, at 5*s.* 6*d.* the rial of eight. Several soldiers for the garrison at Fort St. George had been put aboard the *Charles*; but as her voyage had been diverted, the King had ordered them (and a few more to be recruited at Plymouth, to make up twenty) to be landed at Bombay.[1] Nothing had yet been heard of the *St. George*. The *Dorcas* had been captured by a Dutch man-of-war on 20 March, within ten leagues of Scilly, and carried into Brest. Complaint had been made to His Majesty about the proceedings of the *Love*, and he had been pleased to promise 'that for the future hee will bee very tender in graunting any such or the like comissions'.[2] Walter Clavell was proceeding in the *Charles*, with the King's letter and the Company's order for re-establishing Foxcroft as Agent at Madras; every assistance was to be afforded him in journeying overland to that place, or to Masulipatam, should Winter prove recalcitrant.

Since the *Charles* was delayed in her voyage and did not arrive upon the Indian coast—where she put into Goa—until the middle of May, 1668, the steps taken in consequence of this letter at Surat do not come within the purview of the present volume. It is clear, however, that no ship reached Surat from England during 1667, and of course no ship was sent home during the same period. The factors had therefore little to do beyond attending to their private business.

We have seen that Oxenden had long been endeavouring to obtain from the Emperor a reduction in the customs duties paid by the English. The efforts of his agent at court were at last crowned with success, and on the 11th Muharram in the tenth

[1] For their names, and the expenses incurred in their dispatch, see *C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 131–2, at the Public Record Office.

[2] See *Privy Council Registers* (at P.R.O.), vol. 59, pp. 330, 344. The second of these documents contains the report of the committee of the Privy Council, 20 March, 1667, which dealt also with Winter's rebellion and Cooke's seizure of the Surat junk. It mentioned that Cooke had already been recalled to England by order from His Majesty. A representation from the freighters of the *Love*, urging that the Company's charges were baseless, will be found in *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 102.

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year of Aurangzeb [1] a *farmān* was obtained from the Emperor to the Governor and other officials at Surat. This recited that the customs dues levied on the goods of the Dutch had been lowered from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 2 per cent.: that the English had asked for a similar favour, and had also requested that their goods bought in Bengal, Agra, and elsewhere and carried to Surat via Burhānpur or Ahmadābād might be free from all way dues, and that in the event of robbery the officials should be charged to do their best to recover the stolen goods. This application had been backed by a letter from Ghiyās-uddīn Khān, Governor of Surat, to Jafar Khān, recommending the grant of the desired concession. The Emperor therefore ordered that in future the duty should be lowered from 3 to 2 per cent.; [2] that no way dues should be imposed upon English goods throughout the country: and that robbers should be punished and the stolen goods restored to their owners.

On 5 September a consultation was held at Surat to deliberate upon a demand made from Bombay by the acting Governor, Henry Gary, in a letter to Gerald Aungier dated 4 July, that the President and Council should no longer issue passes to Indian vessels but should refer all applicants to him.[3] It was decided to answer that to refuse the grant of passes would be seriously detrimental to the interests of the Company, and that the demand was inconsistent with the assurances given at home by King Charles that his officials at Bombay should be instructed to do nothing to the Company's prejudice. Until, therefore, contrary instructions came from London or a definite command from His Majesty was produced, Oxenden and his colleagues must decline to 'lay downe this so ancient a custome and privilledg'; but they promised, pending a settlement, to issue passes only when pressed to do so and 'not to constraine these people' to take them.[4]

[1] Both India Office translations give the English date as 25 June, 1667; and, according to the press list, the translation in the Bombay Record Office follows suit. The latter version is printed in Forrest's *Selections* (*Home*, vol. i. p. 213), with the date 26 June, but this is probably an error. Theoretically the month should have begun on 13 June.

[2] From a letter from Surat to the Company of 2 November, 1668, we learn that this was on both imports and exports.

[3] A previous demand from Lucas to the same effect is mentioned in the next chapter. As we have seen (p. 186) Cooke had made a similar claim.

[4] The consultation is printed in full in Sir George Forrest's *Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series*, vol. i. p. 211.

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Thus the dispute rested until the following year; but that Oxenden did not in the meantime refrain from issuing passes is shown by a private letter from Gerald Aungier at Swally Marine to Randolph Taylor at Surat, dated 1 November. After some account of Cooke's attempts to displace Gary at Bombay, Aungier proceeded to answer an inquiry from Surat whether a pass would be granted to a vessel from one of Sivāji's ports.

I have discoursed the buisinesse of the passe with the President, and after serious debate wee conclude it not seasonable at this time to shew the least inclination to a reconcilement, which the giving a passe at this time would hint. But in regard you are more deeply concerned then any, the President bids me write you that, if you will venture the ill consequence of it, he is willing to grant a passe; but then desires it may run in Siliminaiks [Sālima Nāyak] name and not in Durreall[1] Sarungs or any person related to Sevagee. And the President further advises that it would be convenient you should write to Siliminaik, as a freind, that he use his interest to perswade Sevagy or Rougee [Raoji] to propose sober and effectuall tearmes of satisfaction and reconciliation before our ships come, for you may assure him that, now peace being neere concluded, if they doe not timely accommod[at]e the affaire and give some reasonable satisfaction, the first designe the President will undertake will be a severe revenge on all Sevagees ports and ships for the losses the Company hath suffered by him. In case you advise that a passe be given, then let Mr. Gray write it and send it down with all speed, and it shall be signed and sent you. The news wee have is that Mr. Goodier will not visit Surat till Munday or Tuesday morning. Mr. Chune [i. e. Chown] and Mr. Portman have kild a brave buck, six mile beyond Mundroo. Mr. Master and I were out two dayes and killed een kootchny.[2] Mr. Master had a shot, but poore I never was visited soe neare.

It is time now to advert to the course of events in Europe and the closing stages of the conflict between England and Holland; and for this purpose we may quote the narrative which the Company sent out to its Indian settlements in August, 1667 (*Letter Books*, vol. iv. p. 90), giving the chief occurrences during the previous twelve months, which included the celebrated Dutch raid upon the Medway.

His Majesties fleete being at sea the begining of September [1666],

[1] Probably Dariyāv. 'Sarung' is *serang* (boatswain, or skipper).

[2] E'en (even) *kuchh nahīṇ* (not anything).

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consisting of about 100 saile of men of warr, besides fire ships, had got to the eastward of the Dutch fleete (being about 80 saile of men of warr, besides fire ships), and were in persuite of them betweene Callis and Dover, and in all probabillity had distroyed a great part of them, having them now in a place where they could not so readily run to their owne harbors, as they had severall times done before. But it pleased God to raise such a violent N.E. wind that our fleete was faine to keepe off the French coast and bare along the Channell; which the Dutch taking advantage off (they drawing lesse water then our great ships) to avoid our fleete, stood into Bullen [Boulogne] Road and there anchored, while in the night His Majesties fleete passed by them, and so the Dutch escaped that danger. And before that our fleete could retorne, they were got back upon the coast of Flanders toward Zealand; where our fleete endeavored to engage them, but could not. And so both fleetes, the winter coming on, went to harbour. In the forementioned storme the *Royall Charles* (that was with you in India) spent her maine mast, and so being a leeward ship, fell upon the coast of France amongst the Dutch, by whome she was burnt. And during the Kings fleete being to the westward they tooke a French man of warr, betweene 50 and 60 guns. During the winter there was little action of men of warr, but only of the convoying and coming home of our merchants men from severall places, as Turkey, Itally, Spaine, Barbadoes, Virginia, Hambrough; and some of His Majesties ships that convoyed a fleete from Gottenburgh met with five Dutch men of warr and tooke them. And it unhapily fell out that the *St. Patrick*, one of His Majesties ships, of about 50 guns, coming with few men from Harwich to the Downes, met with two Zealand private men of warr. He laying one of them abord, the other, for the reliefe of his comrade, laies the *St. Patrick* abord on the other side, and, the *Patrick* having but few men and the other being well manned, overpowred him. In the winter there began some treaty betweene His Majestie and the French in order to a peace. In March it was agreed that Breda, a citty of which the Prince of Orange hath the royalty, should bee the place of treatie. To which place, the latter end of Aprill, His Majesties ambassadors went, and concluded the treaty the latter end of July. The treaty being on foote, His Majestie did not make readie his great ships, nor keepe togither his third and fourth rate and lesser ships, that were dispeirced upon severall services, as some for the Straights, West Indies, others devided into squadrons on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, to the west and north of England. His Majesties fleete being thus dispeirct, the Dutch tooke this oportunity to come with their fleete into the mouth of the river of Thames and attempted a place, which was intended for

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a fort, by Quinbrough [Queenborough], called Shearnesse; which, not being compleated, could not well stand out against their great guns, and so made way to enter up the river toward Chattam, where about 20 of His Majesties great ships lay unrigged, and where our people being too secure [1] and not having provided for such an attempt, not expecting such a thing in the time of treaty, and depending too much on their chayne that went crosse the river at Gillingham, the Dutch, having the advantage of a spring tide and a stiffe easterly wind, bore so hard upon the chaine with their ships that they broke it. And the *Royall Charles* lying there unrigged and having but few guns mounted and not having time well to furnish her with men and ammunition, fell into their hands; which they towed away, and burnt three more of His Majesties owne built navy, and three Dutch built ships which were prizes formerly taken from them. So that in all there were seven ships lost; which, though in its selfe it is noe great losse in value, being ships unrigged and ungund, yet the Dutch doe very much boast, as if it were a great victory; whereas, if any considerable part of His Majesties fleete had beene togither and neare them, or they at Chattam well provided (as they were afterward), they durst not have attempted any such thing. And notwithstanding their boasting, their losse is many times greater by the ships of theirs that have bin taken by His Majesties ships and privatiers since they made this attempt, as East Country men, Straights men,[2] Spanish and French traders, to a great nomber; amongst which was one of their East India men outward bound, of 700 tons. And it hath hitherto pleased God, in a very great measure, to preserve the merchants estates of this kingdome, although wee have had great fleetes abroad at the Straights, Spaine, Portugall, West India, Virginia, etc.; many of which are lately arrived. And amongst others it hath pleased Him to preserve all our ships, except the *Dorcas*; which wee desire to acknowledg as a great mercy, and hope that He will still preserve and bring them in safetie. After their successe at Chattam, they sailed toward Harwich, and landed about 3,000 men at Felston [3] Cliffe and marched up with 2,000 of them to Landguard Fort, which they twice attempted, but were stoutly enterteyned and beaten off and forced to retreate, leaving behind them many of their scaling ladders, pistolls, and hand granadoes. And it was reported by a Sweed from Hambrough, whoe was eight or nine daies kept abord De Ruyter, that in his presence an accompt was given to De Ruyter of the losse of neare 30 men in their attempt upon the fort, with some

[1] I. e., unsuspicious of danger. Hamlet's father was murdered in his 'secure hower'.

[2] Ships trading to the Baltic and Mediterranean respectively.

[3] Felixstowe. Pepys mentions the raid under date of 3 July, 1667.

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officers of quallity. As wee have told you, the peace is now concluded; in which tis articled that both nations shall remayne by what they doe posesse, and each nation beare what they have lost to the day of [*blank*]. And though the losse of the Dutch bee farr greater then the losse of the English in the gennerall, yet wee are thereby disapointed of our hopes of sattisfaction for damages susteyned by us, or restitution of any place they posesse of ours, considering that France and Denmarke (by their subtilty) engaged with them; for had they bin alone and the rest stood newters, wee should have hoped, as to our perticuler concerne, to have had a better accompt. The French [King], demanding severall places of the Spanish Netherlands, in the right of his Queene, hath invaded them with a great army and taken many places of great concenrment; which makes the Dutch feare they shall have so great a neighbour to neare them, and some thoughts in others how inconvenient it would bee for him to posesse those countries.

The treaty referred to herein, between King Charles and the States-General, was concluded at Breda on $\frac{21}{31}$ July, 1667. By the third article each side was to bear its own losses, during the war and previously, and was to retain the places held by it on $\frac{10}{20}$ May, 1667.[1] The fourth article authorized the retention of any ships that had been captured; and the fifth cancelled all actions, suits, and pretensions for damages on either side, especially those referred to in the fifteenth article of the treaty of 1662. A separate commercial treaty of the same date made an important concession to the Dutch, by allowing goods from Germany to be imported into England through Holland, notwithstanding the Navigation Act.

The narrative quoted above, which included the announcement that peace had been concluded, was sent out to India in an overland packet on 26 August. Of the letters accompanying it, that to Surat acknowledged the receipt of the letters sent by the *St. George* and *Return* and mentioned the arrival also of the *Constantinople Merchant*. The factors were told that they might expect two or three ships, of about 800 tons, bringing fifty or sixty thousand pounds, and were instructed to prepare return cargoes accordingly. These were to consist of various kinds of piece-goods, cotton yarn, quilts, drugs, indigo, red earth, Karmān wool, lac, coffee, carda-

[1] Under this clause the English kept New York and New Jersey, and the Dutch Surinam and Pulo Run (in the Bandas). The last-named place had been surrendered by the Dutch to the East India Company's servants on 25 March, 1665, pursuant to the earlier treaty, but had been recaptured on 30 November following.

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moms, pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, mace, cloves, cowries, borax, and saltpetre. Stick-lac, cassia lignum, spikenard, rhubarb, wormseeds, and sal-ammoniac were barred, as not being in demand at home. The 'Larwae' indigo (see p. 164) had proved to be little better than that from Sarkhej.[1]

Our desires are (being wee are againe intending to settle our trade) that wee might settle and secure as many factories in sea ports on the coast of India as may be necessarie for the procuring of pepper and other goods. And though wee doe find, by what you advise, that, by the disturbance of the natives at Carwar, the Dutch at Porcatt and other places, it wilbe a difficult worke, yet wee desire you to use your utmost endeavours to doe what may bee; wherein wee cannot give perticuler advice what you should doe at Carwar, Rajapore, Callicutt, Porcatt, Atcheene, Batticola, etc., but doe wholie leave it to your discretion and care in the recovering what estate wee have in any of those places and the setling of a trade there and elcewhere for the future, for the procuring of pepper and other comodities as aforesaid. In the doeing whereof, as wee would not have any person in our service exposed to needlesse hazards, so wee would not have those whome you imploy to comaund in this affaire to be frightned with words or paper threats, but to proceed according as you shall direct, unlesse they shall be hindred by force, to the breach of the peace, that it may be the more aparent from whence the wrong comes, that wee may the better obteyne reparations; which is best to bee done, when the adversary breakes the peace. If there bee any of our servants in prizon by the Dutch, wee desire you to gett them forthwith released, according to the articles, copie whereof wee shall send you, if they come out before the sealing of our letters.

A hope was expressed that the arrival of Sir Gervase Lucas at Bombay had put an end to the disputes with that settlement. As regards gunfounders and engineers for the Great Mogul, nothing would be done for the present; 'yet wee may probably send out some by the next ships, with a gunner for morterpeeces'.

Wee desire you to put the businesse of Persia in the best posture you can; that soe our customes there may be received at an easy charge, which wee would have to bee at a certeinty, by allowing some able persons [*blank*] per cent. for what shalbe received for the charge of the whole factory; which persons wee leave to your

[1] At a court of sales held on 30 October, 1667, eight barrels of 'indigo Larwa' were sold at 3*s*. 5*d*. per lb.

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selves to consider of, either to continue or remoove such as are there, or to send others, as you shall see cause. And advise us how wee may proceed with the Persians to recover our right of arears of customes, wherein wee have beene soe much abused; and how wee may receive our just dues for the future in an amicable way, for that wee find in yours you so much desire to declyne force.

The factors were to send home proposals for this purpose, and to advise what percentage it would be necessary to allow. Permission was given to borrow money at interest for the investment now ordered. Care should be taken to prevent the beaters from making holes in the calicoes. John Goodier's bond not having been signed before his departure, and Thomas Tomlins having declined to become his security, the former was to be required to name some one, in England or in India, who was willing to act in that capacity.

Yet another letter was addressed by the Company to Surat during this year, viz. one of 4 October, 1667, sent by a small vessel of 120 tons, named the *Bantam*, with a cargo of about 8,180*l.* in value, consisting of 2,425*l.* in silver ingots, together with broadcloth, quicksilver, lead, tin, and copper. The factors were instructed to dispatch the ship to Bantam, with a fresh lading of goods suitable for those parts. No freight goods were to be taken, and no passengers were to be allowed aboard. The Company's intention of sending two or three ships to Surat in the following spring was reaffirmed, and the factors were charged to start one of them on her return voyage in October or November, in order that her cargo might arrive in time for the spring sales. The articles of peace were forwarded,[1] attention being directed to the fact that they were to come into force 'with you and to the norward of the Lyne' on 22 October.[2] As a precaution the ship had been furnished with a certificate 'under the hands of the ambassadors'. At the request of his father, Henry Chown was recommended for such preferment as he might be found to deserve. Letters for Bantam were enclosed for transmission; while a postscript advised the loss of a Dutch ship from Batavia and the arrival of two others in the Texel.

[1] The Company's petty cash book shows that eighteen copies of the proclamation of peace were purchased on 5 October (for twopence each).

[2] This referred to the proviso that ships taken in ignorance of the treaty within a certain period (varying with the locality) were to be retained by the captors.

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On 22 January, 1668, Oxenden and his colleagues dispatched a letter overland to the Company. No copy is extant at the India Office; but certain extracts are available at the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 176), in a paper sent by the Governor of the Company to, presumably, the Secretary of State. From these it appears that the President and Council at Surat informed their employers that, unless news of peace with the Dutch arrived soon,[1] the damage to the Company would be considerable.

Your factory of Callicutt is in great danger to be utterly lost, togither with what estate you have there, which amounts to about 150 tons of pepper and some few bales of cashia lignum. For the Dutch are incessant sollicitors to the Great Samorin, or King of those countries, that hee would dismisse your servants and suffer them to plunder your warehowses, wherein hath more then 100 tons of pepper layne these twoe yeares and wee cannot by any possible meanes use any contrivance to get it thence, notwithstanding wee have indeavored all the ways imaginable. For the terror of the Dutch is so very strong upon all these eastarne people that wee cannot get any merchants vessailes to goe from hence for it, nor yet the owners of vessailes that belong to that port (whereof there are many) to bring it thence. The Dutch are dayly plying the Samorin and courtiers with large presents and more spaetious promises. Wee feare [they] may at last prevaile.

An account was given of the ill-success of the French envoys at Agra, until the attack upon Béber induced the Emperor to listen to their demands. According to general report, they promised him presents to the value of Rs. 30,000 in foreign rarities, and undertook to give Jafar Khān Rs. 10,000 and to other nobles a similar sum. By these means they obtained a farmān for trade, with permission to hire a house in Surat, and to pay only two per cent. as customs duties.

The country of Decan is still in great troubles, and there is little hopes of any settlement, espetially now that the rebell Sevagee hath escaped and got into his country againe, and plaies his part so subtilly that, notwithstanding this King is so highly incensed against him, yet is at last forced (most dishonorably) to comply and close with him; upon which, its said, the King intends speedily to send an army against the King of Vizapore, in hopes, with

[1] The Company's letters of 26 August and 4 October, 1667, did not arrive until 7 May, 1668.

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Sevagees asistance, to overrunn the country. These, and other disagreeings amongst the Decannees, hath almost distroyed all trade in that kingdome. As yet here are arived noe French ships. The person resident here [i. e. Béber], of whome wee formerly acquainted you, hath since bin very troblesome and offensive to the whole towne, upon a caprichious clashing with a Capuchin padree of his owne nation, in which hee would have concerned the Governor and other officers and merchants in matters frivolous and unreasonable; wherein he became very rude, that the Governor was constreyned to let him know his error and admonish him to bee more civill, or he would send him to the King in irons; since which there hath byn a guard upon his doores, not suffring him to goe out of towne, though he often importuned it. But the Governor being remooved and another apointed by the King,[1] the Frenchman prevailed, and was suffred to depart; and thereupon left the towne, and it is beleived meanes never to retorne againe, and as heartily wisht.

News had just been received from Aleppo of the Dutch raid upon Chatham. Though exact details were lacking, sufficient was known

To stop the Dutchees carreer of cellebrating festivalls for their pretended victory, by acquainting the Governor and principall men in towne of their villanous treachery, by thincking to surprize us when least suspected, at a time when the severall embassadors were met to treate of an accomodation and articles of peace; to which the gennerallity of these people made answere that it hath beene observed that they were a falce, deluding people, that never kept promise longer then stood to their advantage or proffitt. So well they are knowne, even amongst the heathens.

If His Majesty would only send out a fleet, there would be a general rising against the Dutch, hatred of whom was intense. The letter went on to refer to the armada prepared at Goa, which had caused the Dutch much uneasiness, as they feared that an attack upon Cochin was intended. They had therefore kept a strong fleet watching the movements of the Portuguese.

The Vice Roy in person set out from Goa late in the yeare, and, being ill provided of all things, kept not the seas many daies but returned againe, himselfe wintring at Goa and part of his fleete in Trombay. Hee still keepes up his fleete, threatning great matters, but hath done nothing considerable. One of his company

[1] The Surat Gazetteer (p. 91 *n.*) mentions Muhammad Beg Khān as having been appointed Governor in 1666. According to the same authority, Ghiyās-ud-dīn was reappointed in 1667.

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gayned the Gulph [of Persia], got to Congo [Kung], and plaid some idle prancks, suiteable to their ranting manner, comanding the jounks flags downe, shott some gunns into the towne to affright the people and awe them into a complyance for the better paying their moyety of customes for the future.[1] Of those that wintred in Bombay, twoe set forth in October last for Persia. In their way [they] met with the Dutch brokers [2] jounck, which they examined and, finding she had a passe, dismissed her for that time. But, whither by the consent of his consort or not, one of the twoe stood back againe and tooke the vessaile, barbarously killed 13 or 14 of the men in cold blood, and have carried her for Goa. What justice the Viceroy will doe herein is expected [i. e. awaited]; for it is verily beleived that, if the vessaile be not returned againe, with her lading (which is said to be rich), it will certeinly cause a breach between this King and the Portugall[s], which they are in noe condition to withstand. This is all the exploit this great fleete hath done hitherto. Its thought the designe was first intended for Muscatt, and holds still, but the monsoone being so farr spent that its beleived all will come to nothing, or would be yet more to their disgrace if they should attempt it, the Muscatt men being too hard for them. There hath beene lately a shrewd repulse given them by Sevagee, the grand rebell, whoe had a difference with a person of some eminency that had the comaund of a considerable party of horse, and was himselfe a renter or farmer of the country neare Goa; whoe, when hee could not withstand Sevage, retired to Bardis,[3] neare the Aguada, putting himselfe into the Portugalls protection; which Sevagee complained of severall times to the Vice Roy, and finding himselfe neglected, made an assault upon this farmer, whoe, being worsted, retreated as accustomary. But Sevagee persued him so closely that hee entred Bardis, burnt a great part of it to the ground, plundred the place, and carried away 1,300 prisoners, in dispight of the Vice Roy and all his armado.[4] How this will bee reconciled wee cannot yet learne; only thus much, that Sevagee will have the better of the Portugalls, both by sea and land, if this

[1] See Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. ii. p. 170.

[2] The broker employed by the Dutch at Surat.

[3] Bārdez, the district on the coast north of Goa Island. The Aguada is at its south-western extremity.

[4] See the *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission on the Finch MSS.*, vol. i (p. 506). Some further particulars of this raid upon Bārdez are given on p. 286, and also in a letter from Joseph Hinmers, dated at Bombay 2 April, 1668 (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. xi. f. 75). This says that 'Sabbugee, a rebel to Dealshaw [i. e. Ādil Shāh], King of Vigapor ... entring with 6,000 men into the island Bardees, some three leagues distant from Goa, and in three dayes time fyered sixteene aldeas, and did not depart before the Vice King sent an ambassador to him and desired him to forbeare shewing more hostilitie; which Sabbagee did assent unto, but not before he had obtayned his owne conditions'.

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breach bee not made up. This Kings every daies more precizenes in his Mahometan religion hath greatly disturbed the whole kingdome; there now lying a heavy persecution, upon the Banians and Gentues more espetially, and gennerally upon all that are not of his eronious opinion, that it hath greatly obstructed their dealings one with another. For if a Mahometan have a desire to discharge his debt to a Banian, its but telling him that, if ever he make demaund or trouble him for his mony, he will complaine to the Cozzy [*Kāzi*], or Justice of the Law, that hee hath called their Prophet names or spoke contumeliously of their religion, and produce a falce wittnesse or twoe (of which the towne is full), and the poore man is forced to circumcission and made a Moore. And thus they have served severall, to the great terrour of all. Nay, they are become so insolent, by the countenance received from the King, that beggars (of which the country swarmes) doe daily enter into Banians howses, using great imodesties, and will not be perswaded out untill they have given them whatever they ask; this King not at all minding any thing of his kingdome, but gives himselfe wholy upon the converting, or rather perverting, the Banians etc. and pulling downe the places of their idolitrous worship, erecting muskeets [mosques] in their roome.[1] Lately, in prosecuting his blind zeale, [he] fell upon one Thomas Roach, an English man, imprizoned and greviously afflicted him, threatned to take away his life if he would not turne; and when that would not doe, the King tempted him with monies, vests, and honnors. But hee withstood them all, and at last was set free.

Some of the topics here touched upon are mentioned also in a paper of 'news from various parts of the East Indies', of which three copies are preserved in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 144, 147, 148). The first letter summarized was from Ispahān, dated 16 August, 1667, and said that the Fathers at Basra had reported that an assault by the Turks was expected, and that consequently trade was at a standstill.[2] The second,

[1] A letter from Aleppo, quoted at p. 506 of the *Report on the Finch MSS.* noted above, says: 'The King of India's extraordinary zeale to promote his own superstition and gaine proselytes is very troublesome to the poore Bannians and Hendus, whome to trappan into inconveniences his wicked emissaryes are imployed, and afterward they are forced to turne Mahometans; which diligence and fervency of the King's his reverend mollas perswade him to believe will instate him in a great equality to the Prophet Mahomet in another world; but whilst he is thus humouring his foolish churchmen, he disobligeth his nobles and souldiers who are not so zealously bent, and tis believed he will not raigne long without some disturbance from them.'

[2] The story is continued in a similar summary (*ibid.*, f. 176), which gives news from Aleppo of 16 May, 1668, that the Turks besieged Basra in the preceeding February, and

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written from Gombroon on 1 August, gave an account of the arrival of some Portuguese frigates and the bickerings with the Dutch caused thereby. The third was a note from Madras of 18 September, promising to be watchful of the designs of the Dutch in Ceylon. All that could be gleaned was that they were busy strengthening their settlements in that island, and were building a fort at 'Cuttear' [Kottiar, now Trinkomali], of which place they had recently taken possession. The next was from Macassar, dated 11 May, giving an account of the wars there and of the Dutch embassy to China, and mentioning that only one ship had arrived at Batavia from Europe during the past two years. The fifth letter was from Madras, 18 September, and stated that, there being no stock of the Company's, except a few goods, Winter was obliged to maintain the garrison at his own expense. A letter from Calicut of 18 October reported that nothing had been heard from Grigby since 12 June, but he was believed to be still a prisoner at Cochin. The Dutch were keeping their designs very secret and were maintaining a strict blockade. They had made great rejoicing at Cochin over the Fire of London, and had burnt King Charles in effigy. The next letter was from Cochin itself, dated 12 June, and gave details of these celebrations. The news came from Gombroon about the end of December, and thereupon the Dutch gave out that they had gained a great victory, destroying 35 of the best ships of the English and driving the rest into harbour.

The evening appointed being come was finished with feus de joye and fireing of gunnes. And in one of the principal places of the city was erected a monstrous statue, with a tayle of a yard long and a wooden sword in one hand; which stood until by the noise of bells and gunnes all the people, both black and white, were gathered together about it, and then they burnt all into ashes; which they proclaimed to bee the King of England.[1]

The Dutch had been much alarmed by the preparations of the Viceroy of Goa and had been working feverishly at the fortification

that the Bāsha, despairing of success, ordered the evacuation of the inhabitants, after which the city was plundered by the soldiery and burnt, while the Bāsha himself fled down the Gulf of Persia. This intelligence is repeated in the *Report on the Finch MSS.*, vol. i. p. 507, where it is stated that the Bāsha had reached Ispahān.

[1] For an account of similar rejoicings at the Dutch factory at Gombroon see *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 124 (at P.R.O.). Tavernier, in his *Six Voyages* (1676), gives a description of that incident.

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of Cochin. Cranganore was finished, and 'Contara' soon would be. The Dutch forces on that coast numbered 920 men.

A letter from Goa of 30 November said that the Viceroy, being Jesuite-ridden', had prohibited, on pain of banishment, the exercise of any religion but the Roman Catholic.

Sevagee, deepely resenting this rigour, invaded the precincts of Bardese, not farre distant from Goa, and there cutt off the heads of four padres that refused to turne Moretto's [Marāthas] of his owne persuasion, they having councelled the destruction of all that were not opinionated as themselves; which so terrifyed the Vice Rey that he was forced to revoke his fierce and severe edict. He [Sivāji] burnt and destroyed all the country, and carried away 150 lack of pagodaes.

A letter from Bassein of 10 December imparted the news that the Portuguese had recently captured two junks and had forced two ladies of rank, found therein, to become Christians.[1] Aurangzeb had in consequence threatened hostilities, unless satisfaction were made. He had relieved Muhammadans of the payment of customs, which were still to be levied on Hindus.[2] Christians were allowed to pay half-rates. 'These troubles wil bring much accession of people to the port of Bombaim.' The next item was a letter of 12 December from Bombay. This reported that the Viceroy's fleet, which had cost 360,000 *zerafins*, had got no farther than Kārwār on its way to Muskat, and had since anchored in Bombay harbour. The failure was imputed to an error on the part of the pilots, but another explanation was being whispered.

All the nobility of these parts being embarqued in this designe for their honour, yet tis very seriously averred by credible persons that these delicate mestissos [*mestiços*: half-castes], being loath to leave their delights here and hazard their lives, corrupted the pilots to such a course; wherby the Vice Reys great project evapourated into smoke, that hath produced him very great and potent enemies.[3]

[1] See Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. iii. p. 276.

[2] 'On 9th May 1667 the Emperor abolished the custom duty altogether in the case of Muslim traders, while that on the Hindus was retained at the old level' (Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, vol. iii. p. 313). It was soon found, however, that this system was unworkable, and the rates were fixed at 2½ per cent. for Musalmans, and double that for Hindus (Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vii. p. 293).

[3] The Consul at Aleppo (*Report on the Finch MSS.*, vol. i. p. 506) wrote that 'it was generally reported that those hidalgoes to whom the care of furnishing the armado with

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Finally, a letter from Agra of 1 November gave the following news of events in Northern India.

Orangshah hath lately been disturbd by a Pattan Seyèd of Attack in the field against him with a great army, pretending to bee Sultan Suja, the second son of Shah Jahan, true heire of the Indostan empire. So that Orangshah is gone in the head of his army of above 100,000 horse, besides foot; both armies being almost in ken of each other, though not yet engaged.[1] The war between the said Mogul and Edelshah [Ādil Shāh of Bījāpur] stil continues, Sultan Azum,[2] Orangshah's heire, being made Separsala [*Sipāh-sālār*] or General in Rajah Jessins place, he being lately dead; Orangshah being also resolved to make warre upon our neighbour Sevagee with all vigour imaginable.

EVENTS AT BOMBAY, 1667

Our information concerning the proceedings of Sir Gervase Lucas during the remainder of his brief tenure of the post of Governor is by no means so full as could be wished. It appears, however, that he set resolutely to work to increase the revenue, knowing that supplies from home were precarious and that the best news he could send his royal master would be that the island was self-supporting. With that end in view he cancelled the arrangement by which the collection of customs had been farmed out, and as a result a notable increase in the revenue was secured. He also commenced a strict scrutiny of the titles by which the various estates were held, and confiscated those for which no documentary proofs were forthcoming; though in this matter he was somewhat hampered by the proceedings of his predecessor, who, according to the accusations made against him in November, 1667 (see p. 299), had already admitted the validity of some of these titles, in consequence of bribes offered him by the proprietors. Further, Lucas took advantage of a dispute (narrated later) with

provisions was entrusted had gaimed away the money, and so had not wherewithall to comply'. See also *Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xxviii. nos. 735, 737, 738.

[1] Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, vol. ii. p. 193) recounts a rising in which a Pathān pretended to be Shāh Shuja. His editor places this event in 1673–4; but the account in the text suggests that this is a mistake.

[2] Muhammad Mu'azzam, second son of Aurangzeb, and afterwards the Emperor Bahādur Shāh I.

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the Portuguese of Bāndra to confiscate the lands on Bombay held by the Jesuits and other residents of that place. His action in this respect has the appearance of being arbitrary and unjust, for, as far as we can judge, the Portuguese were within their rights in resisting attempts to seize vessels which had taken refuge in their territorial waters; and later on Oxenden and his Council strongly condemned his proceedings. Moreover, although these confiscations afforded an immediate advantage in a financial sense, they naturally antagonized the Portuguese at Goa and elsewhere and incited them to do all they could to obstruct the development of the new settlement.

Lucas's death brought no reversal of his policy; on the contrary, his temporary successor, Henry Gary, took every opportunity of claiming credit for having instigated Lucas's measures and for having thus produced a great improvement in the revenues of the island.

One fact of interest that emerges from the papers here printed is that previously the great landowners had exercised unlimited power over their Indian tenants and had shown themselves both cruel and grasping in their dealings with them. Lucas broke their power by taking the administration of justice into his own hands, and thus not only earned the gratitude of the tenants but secured their support in his sweeping confiscations, as a result of which most of the land passed into the possession of the English government.

Early in March Lucas dispatched Ensign Price to Gombroon, whence he was to make his way overland to Aleppo, and so to England, with a packet of letters.[1] One of these, dated 2 March, was addressed to King Charles (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 90). In it Sir Gervase referred to the departure of the *Return* without his packet, and said that Oxenden excused this on the ground of the Company's orders.

> My opinion is they are all to blame; and so long as Your Majestie continues that Company, your affaire[s] in these parts will never answer your great designe and noble intention of advancing trade. What the tenour of their commission imports I am ignorant; but

[1] His progress may be traced in the *Report on the Finch MSS.*, vol. i. pp. 475, 480, 482. Petitions from him for remuneration will be found in *C.O.* 77, vol. xi. ff. 25–9.

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as well English and others in these parts are taught to beleeve they are a body apart from Your Majesties authority or government.

He referred the King to Price for a full account of the situation at Bombay. For his own part, he was doing his best to improve the revenues. Doubtless His Majesty would receive loud complaints against him on this score, but he trusted that confidence would be placed in his zeal and integrity.

To the Secretary of State (Lord Arlington) on the same date Sir Gervase made a more detailed report, as in duty bound (*ibid.*, f. 98). After referring to the departure of the *Return* without his letters (due, he thought, to 'the change of councills in the East India Company, which indeed is the Presbeterian party'), he proceeded to narrate his dealings with Cooke in a passage already quoted (see p. 199). He continued:

There are severall other things which of right belong to the King, but by corruption of Portugall Governours, and bribery of such persons as have had them in custodie, they have been for a long time lost; severall of which I have seized on for His Majesties service; about which His Majestie will have loud outcries from the Jesuites of the Colledge of St. Paul, Senhor Barnardine de Tavory, Donna Ignis de Miranda, and the Customer of Maim; the three first of which have ingrossed into their hands above three parts of the whole island, for which I cannot as yet discover they have any good title. I hope, when their complaints reacheth His Majesties eares, he will please to thinke it reasonable to returne them to His Majesties Governour upon the place, with His Majesties command to doe them justice, which, whilst I live here, shall be punctually and dutifully performed. I hope the Queens Majestie will not take it ill that I discharge my duty in justly advancing, so much as I can, His Majesties revenue on this island, which, if well ordered at Mr. Cookes takeing possession, would have amounted to at least 2,500*l.* a yeare towards defraying His Majesties charge; which now comes not too 1,100*l.*, and is much more dificult to advance at present, the people having been two yeares in possession under His Majesties government. But the greatest toile and clamor shall not make mee desist from doeing my duty in order to His Majesties service; and if I offend on that hand, I hope His Majestie will pardon me. I am in my instructions commanded to addresse my selfe with all civillitie to the Portuguize magistrates and government upon this island; neither of which I found upon the place, nor one Portuguize in the whole island of parts or quality, nor any vestigia of government. But the Jesuites, who pretend

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to all the dominion of the Lordshipp of Maim, both by sea and land, Barnardine de Tavora to the Lordshipp of Mazagoan, and Donna Ignis de Miranda to the Lordshipp of Bombaim, commanded as lords and governours over all the persons and estates of the whole island, imprisoning and whipping husbands, wives, and children, if they paid not in their rents every weeke, according to such rates as themselves demanded for their farmes, of which the poore people could not live; severall of which have been starved, others left the island, not haveing authority or justice to releive them. Many of which are since my arrivall returned, findeing I have taken the sole power of punishing into my owne hands, as His Majesties Governour upon the place; by which I have releived and satisfied, with much cheerefulnesse, the whole body of the people of the island (which are upwards of 12,000) excepting the Jesuites, Barnardine de Tavora, Donna Ignes de Miranda, their former persecutors. On the 25th January past by five Dutch merchant ships, in sight of this island, for Surat; who make great boast of a victory obteynd against His Majestie, and that they have 14 saile of shipps and 3,000 men comeing for this place from Batavia. My intelligence assures mee the contrary: that they are very weake there, in much disorder, and pressed upon in severall places by the princes of those parts, that, if ten of His Majesties ships should appeare in these parts, the whole trade will bee rendered into His Majesties hands. I provide the best I can for all events; but if wee bee opprest, I cannot expect any assistance from the Portuguizes, the Vice Rey haveing commanded all the subjects of that Crowne, betwixt 16 and 40 yeares of age, to attend him upon a designe hee keepes very secret, for which hee hath fitted all the vessells they are in these parts able to make. Report speakes him for the Gulph of Persia, but those who pretend to know better beleeve it against the Dutch at Cochyn. It is a Portuguise designe, and moves so slowly that there is little hopes of any good effectt this yeare; the time is so far spent and they not yet ready. Ensigne Price, whom I send with this to Your Lordshipp, came out of England with Sir Abraham Shipman, hath been upon this island ever since it was delivered to the King, is a sober man and able to give Your Lordshipp so good account of the place that you may better understand the advantage this island may bee to His Majesties affaires in these parts by his relation then my writing. The undertakeing is tedious and hazardous, and he intends to returne to his command with the first oppertunity. I hope Your Lordshipp will thinke it reasonable hee bee accomodated for it. I have sent Your Lordshipp a short account [*missing*] of the number of houses and people, taken on this island since my arrivall; some of which very well understand the use of their

armes and seemes ready on all occasions of alarme to expresse their duty.

Lucas went on to say that he had received from the Surat factors the equivalent of 1,500*l.*, and had advised the Lord Treasurer accordingly (see *ibid.*, f. 86). This mode of remittance, he continued, was a very expensive one, and he recommended that in future goods for sale should be sent out instead.

Another letter in the packet (*ibid.*, f. 88) was addressed to Lord Clarendon,[1] and contained much the same news as the foregoing. Some passages, however, deserve quotation.

Here is great resort of Bannians, who are the merchants of these parts, who desire to build houses in this island, in expectation His Majestie will order the trade of these parts to this port, which is the best harbour, where shipps may enter and ride safe all seasons. At my arrivall here I found Mr. Cooke very weary of his imployment, haveing just at that time run as farr as His Majesties treasure would inable him; and if not so seasonably relieved as by my arrivall, it had been very hazardous how His Majesties island and people had been disposed of.

After describing the steps he had taken to assert the King's rights, Lucas goes on to allude to the tyranny previously exercised by the Portuguese landlords.

All which since my arrivall I have secured the inhabitants from, allowing no power to any to punish but by order of His Majesties Governour upon the place or by such Justice[s] of Peace as are appointed by the Governour; which hath put the whole island into a secure and quiet conditione as to their persons and estates, and I dare confidently aver to Your Lordshipp His Majestie hath not in all his dominions a more obedient, peaceable, and easie to be governd people then these, except the Jesuites and the other two,[2] who have till this time governd people and lived by the rapine and spoile of the inhabitants, and therefore I hope their complaints will not be able to obstruct my endeavours justly to advance His Majesties revenue.... For all those lands and royalties they have rob'd the Crowne of Portugall of and have long enjoyed, there is not one of them can produce the Kings hand and seale, and yet they will pretend they are alienated from the Government without power of revocation. I am altogether ignorant of the articles of surrender of the island to His Majestie, except the eleventh

[1] Printed in full by Professor Khan (*op. cit.*, p. 486).

[2] Bernardin de Tavora and Donna Ignes de Miranda.

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article, which reserves nothing to the inhabitants but the free exercise of the Romane Catholique religion, and in terminis gives the King all right, title, interest, power, and dominion which the King of Portugall had; and I hope in time to discover it to be of more advantage to His Majestie then wee yet know, and therefore it is necessary I have a commission sent mee, under the great seale, of a larger tenour, as power to let leases in His Majesties name for certaine yeares or lives (as His Majestie pleaseth) and to constitute and appoint all civill officers and magistrates for the decission of controversies arising among the people, which they hourely trouble me in.... I am providing lyme, stones, and timber for fortifications, but cannot begin the worke till either His Majestie send us a recruite of money or trade ships, whose customes may answer the same. For the monethly charge of the officers and souldiers comes to 206*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*, besides my allowance and the charge of materialls for the worke, and other contingencies are at present very great.... The charge of the place... would not bee very great, if His Majestie had ended with the Dutch, the fortifications raised, and trade setled. I dare say it would yeeld His Majestie a better revenue then now it costs.... I am endeavouring to get 20 horse upon the island, which were of great advantage, both to His Majesties service and security of the place. I hope His Majestie will not be offended at it, since there is no good corespondence to be held from the severall parts of the island without them. My Lord, there are many troubles and dificulties I am engaged in betwixt His Majesties just right and some few of these peoples pretences in point of title to those estates they possesse. I hope I have creditt with Your Lordshipp to beleeve me so modest and just, and so well to understand the honnor, as well as interest, of His Majesties government in these parts that I would not by force violate any mans just title; and of the contrary I will no more loose a penny I can discover that is due to His Majestie then I will part with my eyes. I have good reason to beleeve I shall this yeare increase His Majesties revenue to some considerable advantage, and, if I live, the next yeare more; and resolve not to give over till I have made the soyle of the whole island pay His Majestie rent. What recruites of stores and moneyes we want Ensigne Price hath lists of and will acquaint Your Lordshipp with them. I hope His Majestie and Councill will consider that more then the revenue comes to must bee supplied by His Majestie; which if he please to send in commodities would turne to better account then letters of credit; for, as they value money here, His Majestie payes above 40 per cent. for exchange.

Gary took advantage of the same conveyance to continue his correspondence with Lord Arlington in a letter dated 3 March

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(*ibid.*, f. 92). He mentioned that Sir Gervase had appointed him Deputy Governor and had handed him the King's commission to that effect. He narrated the efforts made to improve the revenues of the island by a scrutiny of titles, and forecasted complaints to the King on that score. An attack by the Dutch was no longer feared, the monsoon being far spent; moreover, 'theyr people have bein cutt off at Priaman, upon the west coaste of Sumatra, to the nomber of 300 by the Achiners; the King of Maccassar hath slaine a greate many also; and the Samorine Raja of Calicutt hath declared warr against them.' The Viceroy of Goa was collecting a great armada for some unknown purpose and had drained the Portuguese country to the northwards of men; but it was doubtful whether a start would be made that year.

Our neighbours the Portuguezes of Tanna have bein soe unkinde unto us as that they stopped to the value of 70*l.* worth of tymber which the Governour enordered to bee bought at Callian [Kalyān] in the Moores country to repayr His Majestys pynke the *Chestnutt*, and cost much trouble to cleere it. So that it is very requisit there should bee an order procured out of the King of Portugalls court for our free navigating in and through the river of Tanna and all other that Kings currants and streames heere in India, for the prevention of further trouble.

Gary confessed that he had previously written (see p. 52) that all trouble on this score was likely to be obviated by the Mogul's conquest of Sivāji's country; but owing to the subsequent escape of the latter, 'all the country is like to bee full of trouble againe'.

Lucas wrote further to Lord Arlington on 14 March (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 99, 100), saying that, according to report, the Mogul Emperor was sending some one to forbid him to erect any fortifications on the island. He would 'make him the best answer I can'; but in any case, as the rainy season was near at hand, an attack was not to be feared before October, by which time he hoped to receive reinforcements from England.

Yet another letter was addressed by the Governor to the Secretary of State on 21 March (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 108, 110, 112):

Since my last to Your Lordshipp I am daily fresh alarmd with the Mogulls jealosies of the growing condition of this His Majesties port, and that he will use all meanes to prevent it by his adjacent governours in these parts. . . . Till October next there is not any feare of what his greatnesse can doe; and if by that time any of

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His Majesties shipps arrives here, he will not dare to attempt any thing. And unlesse His Majestie bee pleasd to give incouragement and assistance by sending ships of trade and ships of force to this place, all I can doe will not signifie more then the discharge of my duty; these people not beeing long to be held on with expectation. I will not presume to bee possitive what I shall bring His Majesties receipt to in this place this yeare; but I will leave no stone unturn'd, where I can perceive His Majestie hath any pretence of title, and whosoever I finde possesst of it, if he produce not good evidence for it, I seize it for His Majesties service. I could bee glad to know what the articles of the surrender of this island intended (if it were fit for me) as to the soile of the place; for the Kings of Portingall had for a long time been so dealt withall by their officers that this present King knew not what he gave; and it was greate unhappinesse, when possession was taken for His Majestie, it was not understood what was receiv'd. For certainely Bombaim Island is, for its magnitude, one of the most pleasurable and proffitable islands in India, and (to confesse truth and deale plainely with you, in giveing Your Lordshipp a truer account of the place then formerly you have yet had) the whole island is an orto [Port. *horto*, a garden] or place planted with trees, which yeeld great proffitt. And if Mr. Cooke had not sullied His Majesties government by takeing bribes and, as well indiscreetly as unjustly, obstructed His Majesties title to most of the best estates in the island, most of the inhabitants had by this time paid His Majestie rent. My encouragement to take the toile and paines and contract the odium I doe is very little, for I am frequently alaurm'd His Majestie hath such reasons given him by the East India Companie and their factory here [i. e. at Surat] that His Majestie intends to quit this island. But that which most sticks by mee is I see a letter here since my arrivall, writ from court, wherin it was expressed that, since His Majestie could not apply his councills to this place with better successe, he was resolv'd to part with it. If anything of this bee true, I hope I shall have so timely notice as I might prepare for it. And if His Majestie part with it, I wish he might take his best chapman; but as to his interest in the East India trade, it is worth more then is yet, or will bee hastely, understood.

Lucas goes on to complain that since leaving England he has not received a line either from the King or from Lord Arlington. He begs the latter to write as often as possible, and not to spare reproof if there be reason for it. This is the sixth letter he has dispatched to His Lordship since his arrival. Not one of them has been sent via Surat, for Lucas does not intend to trouble Oxenden

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and his colleagues further, 'since they perform their duty no better'. The present communication goes by a vessel laden at Bombay for Persia.

This letter shows incidentally that Lucas had not yet forgiven the President and Council at Surat for dispatching the *Return* without waiting for his letters for England. A further subject of dispute had now arisen. Prompted probably by Gary, Lucas had decided to increase the revenues of Bombay by arrogating to his government the sole right of granting passes to Indian vessels guaranteeing them against interference on the part of English ships. This we learn from the Surat letter of 26 March, 1667, which says:

Sir Gervase hath already sent to the President, forbidding him to give any more passes to the severall jounks and vessails that navigate in these seas; which will make both us and your business of much less account and esteeme then formerly. What other restrictions hee will lay upon us wee dayly wait for, and must obey, for hee declares hee hath a full power and commission, which wee may nor shall not dare to question; and therefore once more wee desire that you will take care and provide for the settlement of your affaires in these parts.

Oxenden and his colleagues also entreated the Company's assistance in representing to King Charles their reasons for sending the *Return* home without waiting for Lucas's dispatches, as they had reason to believe that the latter had written in strong terms to His Majesty on the subject, and had further misrepresented them as having in other instances acted to the detriment of the King's interests. By the same conveyance Oxenden wrote to Lord Arlington, beseeching him in like manner 'to preserve mee in His Sacred Majestyes grace and benigne aspect'.

The strained relations between Oxenden and Lucas did not last long, and the two were once more on friendly terms when the latter died in May, 1667. The sad event was notified to Lord Arlington in a letter dispatched by Oxenden on 24 June (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 128), which says:

He dyed the 21th May last, and was interred the same day. Whereof wee had some flying uncertaine reports many dayes since, but the truth was not confirmed till this present, by Capt. Henry Gary's letters, advising that he was seized by a lethargy,

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which held him 24 howres.[1] His death is exceedingly resented, and much lamented by all that were happyed with his conversation; having by his unbyassed justice and prudent government won the hearts of all His Majestyes subjects, that I must needs say His Majestyes losse in him is very great. I have bin informed that in the short time of his life he hath very much enlarged His Majestyes revennues beyond what they were accounted to be formerly; for his wisedome had found out many royaltyes that had bin purloined from the Crowne; and tis beleived there are more remaining, which time will discover. I have great reason in my particular alsoe to condole his losse, for, notwithstanding his unkind jealousy (which some had insinuated to him) touching my sending home the ship *Retourne* without His Majestyes pacquet, after his judicious and impartial eye had scann'd the truth and weighed the imminent danger of the aproaching enemy, he soon discovered my innocency and integrity therein; and since that time wee have entertained an amicable and happy correspondence. Captaine Henry Gary doth now succeed Governour, and Capt. Hardy, Sir Gervases brother,[2] Deputy. All things els stand as they did when Sir Gervase wrote Your Honour last; when I humbly presume he advised Your Honour of the great want of supplyes, both of men and engeneers, necessary for the carrying on that great worke, for the security of His Sacred Majestyes honour and interest and the advancement of trade.

As we have seen, Lucas had filled in with Gary's name the blank commission he had brought out for the post of Deputy Governor. Gary accordingly succeeded to the higher position without any question being raised on the island itself. Cooke, however, who had withdrawn into Portuguese territory, was not slow to seize the opportunity of making trouble. He was probably aware that Lucas had hesitated for a time over the choice of a Deputy; and he may have hoped that the commission had not been actually filled up at the time of the Governor's death. It is possible also that he counted upon the active support of the Portuguese, or at least of the Jesuits, whose resentment at Lucas's treatment of their claims was very strong, and who were at the time giving Cooke

[1] A letter from the Consul at Aleppo (*Report on the Finch MSS.*, vol. i. p. 507) said that Lucas 'dyed of an apoplectique distemper, being sick but three daies'. John Martyn, in a letter to Lord Arlington (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. xi. f. 44), told him that Lucas 'was inclining to a lethargie some weekes before he died, but a strong fever carried him away after a confinement onely of five dayes to his bed'.

[2] Thomas Hardy, Lucas's half-brother.

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shelter at Goa. Writing from that place on 19 August,[1] he announced to Gary his intention of coming as soon as possible to Bombay to assume charge, alleging that both by the King's instructions to Lucas and by a letter from Lord Arlington to himself he had been continued in the position of Lieutenant-Governor. Pending his departure from Goa, he desired information as to the state of Bombay, since he intended to ask the Viceroy to furnish men and supplies, as a precaution against any attack by the Dutch upon the island.

To this Gary returned an immediate answer. Probably nothing would have pleased him better than for Cooke to put himself in his power by landing on the island. He therefore abstained from repudiating Cooke's claims, and wished him 'propitious gales and a good voyage'. Regarding the position of affairs at Bombay, he assured him that the island was

> In a farre better state and condition then it was when you left it, both for men, provisions, ammunition, or any utensils for warr; besides which, I conceive you need not putt yourselfe to the trouble of making any aplication to the Vizo Rey for aide, in case the enemy should make any attempt upon this place, because I have, according to my duty, taken care and made provision for that already.

Nothing more was heard from Cooke until 18 October,[2] when he wrote from the Jesuits' college at Bāndra (on Salsette), announcing his arrival at that place and demanding, in the King's name, the 'possession and government' of Bombay. To this a reply was sent on 19 October, signed by Gary, Thomas Hardy, and three other officers, assuring him of their obedience to his commands,

> If you will please to come and make it evident to us that you have a more authentique authority for your said demands then the gentleman hath under whose conduct wee now are.

[1] Copies of the correspondence, and of Gary's proclamation, will be found in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 166–75, 186–9).

[2] About a month earlier he had written to Lord Arlington (?) (*ibid.*, f. 180), announcing his intention of resuming his post at Bombay and stating that the Viceroy had promised all the assistance in his power. This letter went via Portugal, accompanied by one from the Viceroy to King Charles (*ibid.*, ff. 182, 184), which said that many complaints had been received against Gary for disturbing the peace of the island by innovations which were contrary to the treaty and to the articles of surrender.

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Cooke answered the next day, saying that if they would send him the King's instructions to Lucas he could easily demonstrate that these proved his title to the authority he claimed; and he therefore again required their obedience. Finding that there was no likelihood of Cooke venturing further, unless assured of a quiet reception, Gary and his associates dropped the mask and on 20 October desired him not to put himself and them 'to the trouble of any more scribling', and warned him that, if he continued his 'unwarrantable and foolish proceedings' to the prejudice of His Majesty's government, he would be protested against as a rebel and traitor. This was followed on 25 October by the issue of a proclamation by Gary, declaring that Cooke was intriguing to disturb the tranquillity of the island and had given out that he had an order from the Viceroy to the Captain-General of the North to assist him with five hundred men. Cooke was accordingly declared a rebel and traitor, and a threat was made that any one aiding or abetting him would be dealt with as a seditious person. Gary, in his letter to the King mentioned below, says that he had previously written to the Captain-General of the North, asking him to seize and hand over Cooke, but this was refused; and that it was in consequence of Cooke's 'further conference for men and armes to invade this Your Majesties island' that the proclamation was issued; 'after which I found him calmed'. That Cooke had hoped to find some support among the Portuguese on the island is suggested by a letter he addressed to Oxenden from Bāndra on 19 October, asserting that 'the peopell are redey to mutteny, and God knowes what will be the ende. I am doeing all possibell to keepe quiettness; but if Mr. Gary usurpes the govarment, it will all goe to ruinne'. He desired Oxenden, should any letters arrive from England 'for His Majestees afaires here', either to remit them to him or to keep them until the dispute was settled. He further asked to be informed of the probable date of departure of a ship for England; 'for, in case I have not this govarment, I intend home, to give His Majesty account'. His subsequent proceedings are narrated below.

The issue of Gary's proclamation was followed on 5 November by the formulation of a series of charges against Cooke, signed by John Toldervy and others (*ibid.*, ff. 211–18). Some of these were

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repetitions of accusations already recorded, while others have been mentioned elsewhere in these pages. The only one that seems to call for notice here is the charge that he

Sequestered and seized severall estates in the island of Bombaim for His Majesties use, and hath since . . . upon receipt of severall summes of mony from the said parties, which he, the said Cooke, converted to his owne use, hath put his compromis[1] to confirme the said titles in His Majesties name, without His Majesties authority.

Between the time of Cooke's first letter and his arrival at Bāndra, Gary's troubles had been increased by the illness and death of his wife. The story is told in his letter to Thomas Povey on 15 December (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 252). In this he mourns the loss of his ' deere consort ',

Who, after shee had layn 20 dayes ill of a disenteria, expired her soule unto hir Redeemer the 12th September last. And as shee ever lived well, so shee dyed, being deplored and lamented by all the people in generall of this island, as alsoe of all her countrymen in Surrat. It being her desire to bee interred by her sonne there, I embarqued her in His Majestys sloope eight dayes after her corps had laine in state above ground; which I kept, by a way I found out, without being in the least offensive, being but put up in slack't lime, which kept the body intire and uncorrupt to the day of her embarqueing, which was celebrated with an extreordinary solemnity, as was her interrement at Surrat. Had it been possible to have done more for her, I had performed it; such was her merrits and such was the love I ever had for her. But I am almost drown'd in teares with sorrow; therefore must ende this sable subject.

If a monument was ever erected over the remains of Mrs. Gary, it has now disappeared. But the tomb of the son by whom she wished to be laid still stands in the English cemetery at Surat (see the preceding volume, p. 209).

Two other incidents of this year, viz. Gary's attempt to stop the issue of passes at Surat and his interference on the side of Winter in Madras, are described in the appropriate chapters.

Towards the close of the year Gary sent home, by way of Goa and Lisbon,[2] a packet including a number of letters, all dated

[1] The copies have ' compress '. Probably ' impress ', i. e. seal, was intended.

[2] In a subsequent letter (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. xi. f. 109) Gary stated that the packet was entrusted to ' one Robert Tucker, an Englishman made lately by the King of Portugall

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12 December, addressed to the King, the Duke of York, and several of the principal personages at court. These or their duplicates (in Gary's own hand) are now preserved in the Public Record Office; while modern transcripts of some of them will be found in the Bombay Record Office and in the *Home Miscellaneous* series (vol. 48, pp. 346–68) at the India Office. Each letter referred, of course, to the death of Lucas and the succession of the writer to the vacant post. In the one addressed to His Majesty (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 227, 229, 231) Gary narrated also Cooke's attempt to upset the new government. He reported that he had in hand a sum of 16,000 *zerafins*, besides 'a cupboard of plate worth 350*l.*', timber to the value of 100*l.*, and a stock of goods in Persia estimated at 236*l.* The garrison numbered 285, of whom 93 were English, and the rest Portuguese, French, or 'Decanies'. The revenue was about 6,500*l.* per annum, and Gary hoped to increase it.

To the Duke of York (*ibid.*, f. 233) Gary reported on the state of the fortifications.

I have been very buisy (since the faire montzoone) in repairing the old fortifications and errecting new where neede was. The works I found irregular, scarce capable of rectifying, the wett season in Sir Gervase his time prohibiting his intended endeavours therein. The north [*sic*] angle of the south line was very weake. There I have raised a strong bullwarke of stone, capable for six gunns. Our long expected recruites not yet come have forced me to hire 150 Decanies, faithfull and stout men; the Europeans soldjers, including officers, in all but 135, whereof but 93 English surviving. Wee now feare not the Dutch, nor indeed ever did; but these preparations I have made have much fleshed our men with courage, all things necessary for a siege beeing as amply provided as this country can affoord.

The letter for the 'Lord Generall', i. e. the Duke of Albemarle (*ibid.*, f. 235), did not reach London until after the Duke's death at the beginning of 1670. In it Gary described the additions he had made to the fortifications, mentioned that new gun carriages had been constructed, and enclosed a list of military stores needed. He also said:

This place is very advantagiously environn'd with the sea, and in the midst of the channel stands out a high rock, call'd Sinal

Cavalliero d' St. Jago, who resolved by the first conveyance, either from Brasill or Lisboa, to goe for England'.

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Dungerie,[1] not yett fortified, but I have it in my eye as a very necessary thing to bee done for the security of the road. I have in my thoughts also to fortify the most considerable place on this island, and to make it the cheife worke.[2]

The letter to Lord Clarendon (*ibid.*, ff. 237, 239) was in general terms and gave much the same information as those already recorded. That to Lord Arlington (*ibid.*, vol. x. f. 241, vol. xi. ff. 1, 5, 9) was more detailed, with special references to the increase in the revenue, credit for which Gary did not forget to claim. At the time of his previous letter (March, 1667) he says,

I was busiely employed with all possible diligence in search . . . of what lands belonged to His Majesties crowne; wherein I made a considerable progresse, and advanced the royal revenues x. [i. e. *zerafins*] 5,214½ more than they were annually; having a greate deale more in my eye, but I thinke it prudence to observe the Italian adage *a piano piano*, until it shal please God and the King to affoord us recruites. The excise of the taverns, or distilling of arrack (a strong liquor), [has been raised?] from x. 400 (which Mr. Cooke would have appropriated to himselfe) to x. 2,400, and the stanque [see p. 73] of tobacco from x. 6,000 to x. 9,550 per annum; besides His Majesties customes from x. 4,100 to x. 18,000 per annum, these last nine monthes (that wee tooke it for His Majesties accompt) having produced x. 14,300; and, God sending us but peace and quietnesse, I doubt not but they will amount to a very considerable mater, for I can assure Your Lordship that this island is of very much resort already, it being my cheifest study to draw as many merchants as I can to it. To which was added that of all the hortos that belonged unto the Jesuites and inhabitants of theyr lordship Bandora which they possesed upon this island, ammounting unto x. 20,435. 2. 20 reș per annum, confiscated

[1] It can hardly be doubted that Cross Island is meant. The name is at least as old as Fryer, in whose map of Bombay it occurs. It is said to be derived from the cross or gibbet on which malefactors were hanged, Gibbet Island being an alternative name. The vernacular name is Chinâl Tekri, meaning 'the harlot's hillock', and the local tradition is that certain prostitutes implicated in a murder were the first offenders that were hanged there (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xvi. pt. iii. p. 656). Mr. S. M. Edwardes has obligingly pointed out that Gary's 'Sinal Dungerie' (i. e. Chinâl Dongri) has the same meaning, the latter word (Marâthi *Dongari*) signifying 'hilly or rising ground'. The idea of fortifying Cross Island was carried out in modern times, during the governorship of Sir Bartle Frere, when a battery was established upon it.

[2] Gary alludes again later (p. 309) to this idea of transferring his head-quarters to some other spot on the island, but he gives no intimation of the location he had in view. This may have been Mâhîm, which was of importance on account of the custom-house; but Mr. Edwardes thinks Mazagaon more likely.

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by Sir Gervase Lucas for levying armes against His Sacred Majesty, only for His Majesties Commissioners of the Customes endeavouring to fetch over three boates that were freighted for Surat (theyr owners not standing to theyr contract) and approaching that place at another time (though in His Majesties streames) to bring in a boate under command of His Majesties custome house of Mahim, whence shee had escaped; as is more amply signifyed unto Your Lordship by a narrative[1] herewith sent, drawne up and signed by Mr. Joseph Hynmers and Mr. Richard Ball, His Majesties said Commissioners. . . . It pleased the Almighty to take out of this life Sir Gervase Lucas, our worthy Governour, May the 21th, after hee had lingred about a monthes time; and hee was heere honourably enterred according to his quality. Thereupon, in order to His Majesties commission, I succeeded in the government, being before invested with the title of Deputy Governor; yet upon my succession, being congratulated and acknowledged by all the soldjery heere (as well as from persons of quality from other parts) as Governour, I refused not the title, the rather in order to the more effectuall and authoritative carrying on His Majesties concerns. Presently upon the death of Sir Gervase, being confident that hee had instructions from His Majesty for the regulating of himselfe in his charge, which, by succession devolved upon me, must (I knew) bee my rule, I did in the presence of his brother Hardy (since by me commissioned Captaine) open his escritoires in search thereof; which coming to my hand, I found therein His Majesties royall command to Sir Gervase to bring to his receipt 500*l.*, which, after I had perused the accompts, I could not finde effected. Besides, I observed that hee allowed himselfe 20*s.* per diem more than His Majesties exprest allowance. Hee being so generous a person, to say the truth hee could not well live at 20*s.* per diem to keepe up that port and grandeur that was necessary for His

[1] See *ibid.*, f. 150, with copies at ff. 126, 152, 153. It appears that three *shibārs* (coasting vessels) had been hired by Lucas to carry coco-nuts to Surat, but the owner, Bernardin de Tavora, refused to confirm the contract made by the skippers. Thereupon, about the middle of April, Hinmers and Ball crossed to Bāndra, where the boats were lying, to demand them. They found most of the inhabitants in arms, headed by the Jesuit Superior, who excused this demonstration on the ground that it was reported that the English had come to fire the town. He refused to surrender the vessels, alleging that De Tavora was a Portuguese subject. The two Englishmen protested and returned to Bombay. On 17 May, while proceeding by water to Sion, they met a boat from the mainland laden with wood. The crew refused to bring her to Māhīm custom-house to pay the dues, but made for Bāndra, to which place the boat belonged. They ran her in as close to the shore as possible, and then forsook her and fled. The English endeavoured to float her and carry her off, but were fired upon from the shore and forced to abandon the attempt.

A further account of these incidents will be found in Oxenden's letter to the Company of 15 January, 1669.

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Majesties honour. All the ready mony that I found was only 17 twenty shilling pieces of gold and some small pieces of silver; which I delivered to his brother towards his funerall charges. Three dayes after Sir Gervase his death, I was accosted by two commissioners from Dom Hieronimo Manoel, Captain-Generall of these northern parts. Theyr message imported a demaund of restitution of such fazendas [1] as were found belonging to the Crowne of England, as also what was confiscated of the people of Bandora; to which I answered that what in that case was done by my predecessor I could not alter, hee having signifyied it to His Majesty, whose advice and command was expected thereupon. Afterwards the said Dom protested against me severall times upon the premises; all which could procure noe other reply from me but that His Majesties right therein I valued above my life. In July last, in order to His Majesties instructions, hearing of some preparations that the Dutch made, which report spoke as intended for this place, I thought fitt to make a timely application to the Vice Rey, to see how hee stood inclined to our assistance in case of the enemys assaults. Hee retourned me an order upon Dom Hieronimo that hee should contribute his best to relive me in any exigent. Heerewith acquainting the said Captain, hee gave me very faire words, upon which yet I could not much rely.

Gary then related at length Cooke's attempt to oust him from his post, and the issue of the proclamation stigmatizing Cooke as a traitor, in consequence of his having intrigued with Dom Hieronimo for 'a supply of men and armes to invade this island'.

Whereupon, as thunder stricken, his countenance fell and his courage failed him; so that hee threw up the cardes, seeing himselfe like to come by the losse. That small remainder of shame which hee had left him forbad him to tack for Goa, where hee had not the confidence to looke the Jesuites in the face (those architects of this rebellious fabrique), whom hee had promised more courage than hee performed; being of so laselie [2] a spirit that, when promised by the said Dom a certaine nomber of men (as I was informed), hee refused to leade them. Though it bee a litle excentrique to the present subject, yet I cannot but, by the way of parenthesis, digresse to acquaint Your Lordship that Cookes constant consorts the Jesuites have very much menaced mee for the confiscations made by Sir Gervase, wherein yet I was not the principall. To retourne to Cooke, it seemes hee found noe more convenient retreat than Bazaim [Bassein], where hee resided some dayes;

[1] Port. *fazenda*, an estate, a farm.

[2] Loselly, i. e. base or worthless.

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but seeing but few things or persons to favor his projects there, hee advanced for Damaon, the furthest cittie in the Portugalls country, where hee hatched a designe to pass for England by way of Persia, having heard there of a ship that was almost ready at Surat, whether accordingly hee bent his course. But I plaid a fore game with him, by sending a copie of the proclamation to the President, Sir George Oxinden, which arrived something later than his letter. . . . Yett, by the common sentiments of an Englishman, Sir George judged his proceedings to bee treasonable, as hee wrote in his reply to Cookes letter; which before hee had sent away, my proclamation arrived; whereupon hee canceled his letter, as esteeming it dangerous to correspond with a proclaimed rebel. Cooke, not knowing heereof, adventured forward to Surat, in great confidence of a better accueil [i. e. reception] than hee received from Sir George, who, being then at Swally Marine and followed by Cooke, as soone as ever hee heard of his landing and approach towards him, hee sent to forbid his accesse at his perill; with which message being much appaulled, hee hastened back to Suratt, where the President had forbidd the English to entertaine communication with him. Hee, finding his case thus desperate, immediatly retired to Damaon in a disguise, presuming of safety there, where yett I hope my hands will reache him. My proclamation and Sir Gervase Lucas answere to his protest, boath affixed in the Presidency [1] of Surat, rendered him so odious that noe Englishman dares entertaine the leaste good thoughts of him. Being full freighted with many recommendas [2] from the Vice Rey, nobillity, but principally the Jesuites, to the Queene, her confessor, and severall other personages at court (which hee vainely shews to everybody), thereupon [he] became so confident as to venture to the English. I, knoweing him before so obnoxious at Surat, was not so qwick with my warant for his apprehension, in case of his arrivall there, as otherwise I had been . . . but when I heard that . . . hee was thither bound, I hastened a warrant for the securing of him and his man,[3] who had dipp't his sopp in the same dish with his master, and indeed one that had very much affronted His Majesties authority heere. Hee, though the master escaped, was taken in the snare, and secured by Sir George in the English house att Surat; for whom I have sent a guard of soldjers to bring him up prisoner hither. What Cooke is will better appeare by the severall artickles heerewith sent attested against him.[4] . . . This hath all been occationed by the Jesuites, that weare the livery of peace, yett are the greatest bout-feu's [5] of the world; whose extravagant actions heere, as

[1] Meaning, presumably, the factory building.

[2] Port. *recommendar*, 'to recommend'.

[3] Possibly Elias Hill (see p. 71).

[4] See p. 298.

[5] French *boute-feu*, a firebrand.

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of some others of theyr cutt, are at large sett downe in a petition of the Povo[1] to His Majesty heerewith sent; and indeed they have ministred to greater confusions since the Vice Rey heere, being Jesuited, hath forbidd all people in the Portuguez country to exercise any religion but the Roman Catholique, upon failer therein to depart within two monthes time; which blustring winds of the Jesuites and Inquisidores have blowne His Majesty good, in that this his island is thereby much the more peopled, by the resort of those exiles. And it is a maxime among the Portuguezes of India: *quem se governa pelos Paulistas, botase a perdor.*[2] I have, ever since the faire montzoone came in, beine busie in repairing of the old workes and erecting of new where neede was; having made a very substantiall and firme line, much to the securing and encouraging the soldjers; and have also added a very strong bulwarke of stone, for the furnishing whereof with gunnes I have bein forced to send to Surat, noe supply being received from England nor shipp thence arrived in India this yeare, to our greate grieff. I have made as good provission as I cann of all sorts of necessarys for this garrison to endure a siege, as powder, saltpeeter, brimstone, all to a considerable quantity; likewise of wheate, rice, fish, and other requisites. And for necessary correspondence with the severall parts of this island Sir Gervase having prudently designed 20 horse. . . . I have allmost made up the nomber; which charge, considering the service, I doubt not but His Majesty will allow of. By Ensigne Price there were 20 bales of goods proper for the Persian mart sent, consigned to Mr. Flowers disposall, theyr proceeds being designed for the deffraing of the charge of intelligence and furthering His Majesties advises; which I heare since, by intelligence from thence, are come to a very good markett (50 per cent. profitt); so that the whole stock is styll remayning there, besides 100*l.* furnished to Ensigne Price. I, hearing of noe recruites, and being alarum'd with advises from Sir George Oxinden of the Dutches preparations about Zeilon, I thought it my duty to use all providentiall care to prevent the worst; in order to which I have bein forced (by the consent of my officers) to entertaine and hyre 150 Decanies, judged faithfull men and stout, for the payment of which I shall make the best shift I can. The monthely charge whereof (besides that of the Europeans, 226*l.* 2*s.* per mensem), notwithstanding I agreed with them as cheape as I could, is 68*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*; which togeather ammounts to 294*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*, besides fortifications, stable charges, and other contingencies. Which being so greate an expense, laing out all wayes in my thoughts to defray it, I bethought myselfe of an expedient to helpe at a dead lift, by calling

[1] Port. *povo*, the populace. For the petition see p. 309.

[2] Whoso follows the advice of the Paulists [i. e. Jesuits] runs upon destruction.

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Captain Hardy to an accompt of that mony of His Majesties I conceived hee might have in his hands, administring to Sir Gervase; which falling short 785*l.* of what would have remayned according to His Majesties instrouctions, hee not answering my demaunds, I was loath to use rigour or force in the matter.

Gary had brought the question before a council of the officers, but the majority were against further action.[1] The next Governor sent out ('if His Gratious Majesty should not thinke fitt to continue me') should be a strict disciplinarian. Any fresh recruits should be accompanied by 'an able and experienced man' to take command of the garrison, and succeed to the Governorship in case of mortality, 'none heere being fitt for it'. Two 'blacks' had been executed for stealing: a soldier had been shot for sleeping whilst on guard, and another hanged for repeated offences. A letter was enclosed, giving the latest news about the Dutch; also packets for the King and Lord Arlington, received from Sir Edward Winter, to whom Gary had sent a warrant to quiet the disturbances at Madras.

Your Lordship hath bein formerly intreated, boath by Sir Gervase and myselfe, to procure a priviledge from the court of Portugall for our free navigating in that Kings streames heere, our neighbours not permitting any our provissions of corne etc. to pass by Tanna without paying an excessive custome; which I humbly beseech Your Lordship once againe to take into your searious consideration. Sir Gervase, having examined the late Customer of Mahim, found that by detayning the customes from His Majesty hee was indebted x. 9,000, which was received from him in goods, lands, and monys. I have sent Your Lordship a narrative of the most material passages of newes in these parts.

The narrative referred to is no longer extant; but a 'calculate of annuall revenues' of the island, which apparently accompanied Gary's letter, is fortunately still available.[2] This should be compared with the return for 1665 printed on p. 72.

[1] See copies of a declaration by Thomas Bywaters, John Toldervy, and Gilbert Gerrard, 22 October, giving their opinion that nothing should be done pending instructions from England, seeing that Lucas had written several letters to Lord Clarendon requesting that his allowance should be increased (*ibid.*, ff. 190–3).

[2] Printed by Mr. Edwardes in his *Rise of Bombay* (p. 105); also by some earlier writers on the subject. There are three contemporary copies in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 196, 197, 198), of which we here follow the first. In this and the third copy the estimate of additional revenue to be raised in future and the note as to the value in sterling

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	xs.	laris.	rees.
The towne of Mazagon, with all its rents and pretences	9,300	0	40
Maim, with its rents	4,797	2	45
Parela, with its rents	2,377	1	56
Vadala, with its rents	1,738	0	40
Siaon, with its rents	790	0	62
Varely, with its rents	571	1	34
Bombaim, with its rents	6,344	2	61
	25,920	1	18

	xs.	xs.		
The rent of tobacco	9,550			
The rent of the taverns	2,400			
The customes	18,000			
The coconutts received for rent of the gardens	18,000			
		xs. 47,950	0	00
The summe of which is		73,870	1	18
More may bee advanced		1,129	1	62
Summe total is		75,000	0	00

Which, at 22*s.* 6*d.*[1] sterling for every 13xs. or Sherefines, ammounts unto the summe of £6,490 7*s.* 6*d.*

Gary forwarded at the same time a statement[2] of Lucas's confiscations, 'as alsoe what was discovered by the generall survayers of this island to belong in right to the Crowne of England'. The confiscated property of the people of Bāndra consisted of 52 *hortas* or coco-nut gardens, yielding about 163,600 coco-nuts annually, which, at 18 *zerafins* per thousand, were reckoned as giving nearly 2,946 *zerafins* a year. The Jesuits of Bāndra lost 140 *hortas*, producing 11,330 *zerafins* from coco-nuts and 6,160 from rice (440 'moraes'[3] at 14 *zerafins* each). The result of the investigations of the surveyors was the appropriation of 63 other *hortas*,

are both in Gary's handwriting. The second version is throughout in another hand and gives the sterling value (wrongly) as 6,490*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* The same error occurs in the India Office copy (*Factory Records, Miscell.*, vol. ii (p. 20)), and also in the printed versions.

[1] Ten rupees at 2*s.* 3*d.*

[2] The Public Record Office has four copies (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 244–7), of which the first two and the last are authenticated by Gary. The return is also entered in vol. ii. of *Factory Records, Miscellaneous,* at the India Office.

[3] According to Fryer, at Bombay 100 'mooras' equalled 154½ candies.

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yielding annually, in coco-nuts and rice, about 5,214 *zerafins*. In addition, Lucas had sequestered the estate of Bernardin de Tavora, 'one of the greatest disturbers of the peace and tranquillity of this government',[1] consisting of 6 *hortas*, producing 5,225 *zerafins* a year. The total annual addition to the revenue was 30,875 *zerafins*, i. e. about 2,672*l*.

Two more letters, that went in the same packet, remain to be noticed. The first (*ibid.*, vol. x. f. 248, vol. xi. ff. 12, 13, 55), dated 13 December, was addressed to Joseph Williamson, who was then acting as secretary to Lord Arlington and afterwards became Secretary of State himself. Gary besought his friendly help in securing a favourable construction of his letters to higher quarters and in preventing the needs of so distant a possession from being overlooked. He hoped that the King, if he decided to continue him as Governor, would send out full and precise instructions; and he emphasized the importance of obtaining a concession from Lisbon of the right to navigate freely in the neighbouring waters. 'It can never sinke into my head that His Majesty of Greate Brittaine received a house from the King of Portugal without a doore for ingresse and egresse.' He assured his correspondent that, if properly managed, Bombay could not fail to prove a place of profit. The second letter (*ibid.*, f. 252) was dated two days later and was addressed to Gary's friend Thomas Povey, Treasurer to the Duke of York. From this we have already quoted a passage referring to the death of Mrs. Gary, but it contains several others of interest. Reference is made to Lord Holles, 'to whome I doe acknowledge much for my education, as being brought up for some time in his noble fathers house, when I newely arrived from Venice', and Povey was urged to secure the exercise of His Lordship's influence on Gary's behalf. Allusion was made to the petition from the inhabitants of Bombay already mentioned on p. 305.

The Povo, as inhabitants of this island, have petitioned unto His Majesty that they might not bee any more troubled with Cheife Farmers; as likewise not to cast them off (I meane the said inhabitants). In it some thinke [i. e. something] is said by them concerning the great satisfaction they receive in my government.

[1] 'His creating dayly further trouble to this government, whereof being fearefull to bee troubled for it, fled with all his family from hince, joyning with the Jesuits, for which he now suffers justly' (note by Gary on f. 244).

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Gary expressed his confidence that the revenue would be steadily increased, provided that 'those caterpillers the Jessuits bee not readmitted'. He hoped that the King would confirm him in his present position, thus saving the expense of sending out a fresh Governor, who would also necessarily be lacking in experience. A new Deputy must, however, be dispatched, and also a good engineer.

I being resolved to settle and fortifie in another place which I have in my eye: a place which with noe extreordinary cost wilbe made almost invincible, it being alsoe scituated in a farr sweter and wholesomer aire then this.

He begged his correspondent to 'make my house at Hounsloe sure', and to let him know what had been done about the money due to him from the Company. He asked also for the dispatch to him of six beaver hats, a supply of stationery, a saddle and pad, twenty pairs of holsters, and a striking clock 'that may be heard over all the garrison'.

A translation of the petition from the 'Povo' will be found at f. 68 of vol. xi. of *C.O.* 77 (P.R.O.), with a note that the original, which was retained at Bombay, was signed by 225 of the chief inhabitants, viz. 123 Christians, 84 Hindus, and 18 Muhammadans. It states that, while the island was under the dominion of the Portuguese,

There were in each divizion thereof Foreiros Mayores, or Cheife Farmers, men powerfull, arrogant and exorbitant violators, ecclesiastique as well as civill, whose manner of government was absolute, bringing the inferior sort of us so much under and made so small accompt of them as comparatively we may say the elephant doth of the ant; murdering whome they pleased arbitrarily, as if their will had been a sufficient reason, to satisfie their owne cruel lust, against all right whatsoever. They likewise robbed without the least consideration or feare of the Deity, not suffering the Kings ministers to take any cognizance of the outrages they daily committed upon us, presumeing much upon theire owne greatnesse (being fidalgos) and riches they had suck'd from the veines of the people, laying what impositions they of their mere wills pleased; which the magistrates consented unto by the mediation of bribes, which caused them, in lieu of hearkning to our complaints, rather to prejudice us by favouring and conforming themselves to the practices of the exorbitants. None could with liberty exercise

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their religion but the Roman Catholique, which is wonderfully confining with rigorous precepts. They tooke orphan children from whomsoever they pleased and perforce made them Christians, stopping the eares to the cryes of the mother and kinreds just complaints of their discontents. Besides infinite other tyrannies, which are so many that it is impossible to sett them all downe in writing; insomuch that this island was brought to so bad an estate, so much consumed, so much desolated, and so very miserable, that it moved pity to behold it.

Now, however, it has pleased God to transfer the island to the English (after some delay caused by the 'exorbitants' bribing the late Viceroy), and the inhabitants are enjoying very great tranquillity and liberty, especially under the government of Gary, whose justice and skill are warmly praised. The petitioners have heard with alarm that their former oppressors are intriguing to obtain the retrocession of the island to the King of Portugal; indeed, these men have already begun to 'thunder out their menaces', boasting their intention to exact retribution and 'shew us hell in this world'. The English King is earnestly prayed not to forsake his new subjects or permit the re-establishment of the former tyranny. On the faith of the permanence of English rule, many have come to the island, built houses, and purchased property; and it would be unfair to betray them into the hands of the Portuguese.[1]

Another private letter that went home at this time (vol. x. f. 224) was one to Williamson from Samuel Burgess, who had come out as secretary to Lucas. This is interesting for its warm praise of Gary's conduct of the administration. It testifies to his 'vigilance, activity, and most prudent conduct', particularly in the way in which Cooke's threatened invasion was met and frustrated. Burgess declares that 'no person ever govern'd with greater love of the natives, whose language (with many others, both of Europe and Asia) he understands, speakes, and writes in perfection'.

However, Gary's hopes of retaining his post were destined to disappointment. Even while he was writing home his aspirations, negotiations were in progress for the transfer of the island to the Company. As we know, the latter had long had an eye on Bombay as one of the possible sites for the fortified settlement it desired

[1] Printed in full at p. 451 of Professor Khan's work already cited.

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to make on the western side of India; and several troubles that had arisen since its occupation by the King's troops—such as the private trade indulged in or contemplated by its Governors, the friction between the latter and the Company's President, and Cooke's seizure of the Surat junk—had made it seem desirable that control should be gained of the island. However, the dread of incurring a disproportionate expense caused the Company to move very hesitatingly, and in any case it was judged advisable to act with caution, lest the King should drive too hard a bargain; so no sign was made of any desire on the part of the Company to obtain control of the new possession. The first move came in fact from the other side. In March, 1667, when the Governor and other representatives of the Company were attending the Committee of the Privy Council appointed to consider its grievances (which included Cooke's aggressive attitude towards its factors at Surat), Lord Clarendon let fall an observation regarding the possibility of Bombay being made over to the Company. After consideration, the latter's delegates were instructed to wait upon the Chancellor and sound him as to the King's intentions. Evidently, however, nothing had yet been decided. Clarendon talked vaguely of the value of the island, declaring that it had a population of about 8,000 and that the revenue was already 900*l.* per annum. He said that the Portuguese had offered a considerable sum of money for its retrocession, but the King had been advised not to part with it. Finally, he put off the further consideration of the matter till some future date.

The intrigues against Clarendon, culminating in his dismissal (August, 1667), may have had some share in delaying the project. At any rate, it was not until the following November, when the King was in urgent need of money, that the proposal was again brought forward. Bombay had already cost the royal exchequer a large sum, and it appeared likely to prove a drain upon the King's resources for many years to come. Immediate supplies of men, stores, and money were needed; yet every penny in the Royal Treasury was required for other purposes. In these circumstances it may well have seemed a wise step for His Majesty to rid himself of a useless and expensive possession, especially if he could gain some financial assistance thereby. His advisers were probably

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aware that the East India Company would not be willing to purchase the island from him; but it might be induced to lend a considerable sum in return for a free gift. Accordingly the Company's representatives were summoned to Whitehall and were informed by the Lords of the Treasury that His Majesty was disposed to part with Bombay and was prepared to give the Company the first refusal of it, 'albeit there were some, both foreigners and others, desirous to have it'. To this the cautious reply was returned that the Company was ready to serve His Majesty by taking the island off his hands, provided no demand were made in respect of the expenditure he had already incurred; but it was added that the charge would be heavy and that, had such an offer been made by the Portuguese before the cession of the island, the Company would have declined it.

The proposal was reported to the Court of Committees on 22 November, with the result that the Governor and others were authorized to continue the negotiations. Five days later it was announced that the King required, in return for the transfer of the island, the loan of 50,000*l.* at six per cent., on adequate security for repayment. On 30 November the Committees agreed to recommend the adoption of these terms; and on 4 December a General Court was held, at which the shareholders authorized the loan of the money and the acceptance of the island. The Company's detailed proposals were presented to the Privy Council and referred to Sir William Coventry, on whose report they were approved (13 December), and the Attorney-General was ordered to prepare a charter in accordance (*Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 42, p. 151, and P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 226). The result was the issue of Letters Patent, dated 27 March, 1668, by which the King, for the encouragement of the East India Company, transferred to that body all his rights in the island of Bombay, declaring them 'the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors of the Port and Island', subject to the payment of an annual rent of ten pounds. The Company was debarred from parting with the island or any portion thereof, and the inhabitants were to enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion. The King granted to the Company all stores upon the island at the time of the actual transfer, and agreed to defray the expenses of the garrison, &c., up to that date,

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with Michaelmas, 1668, as the ultimate time limit. The Company was permitted to make laws for the government of the island and to impose penalties for non-observance: to appoint Governors and others, and to authorize them to exercise judicial authority in the island: to repel by force any invaders, and to put in force martial law. Persons born in the island were to be reckoned natural subjects of Great Britain and to enjoy all the privileges of such. Finally, the powers granted by this charter were to apply to any other ports, islands, or other territories in or near Bombay, or in any other part of the East Indies, which the Company might acquire in the future. Gary's interests were not entirely forgotten by the home administration. In February, 1668, the Secretary of State forwarded to the Governor of the Company a letter from King Charles, urging that Gary's claims should be taken into favourable consideration, His Majesty himself being unable to do anything for him (vol. x. f. 85). The Company accordingly ordered (27 March) its President and Council at Surat to give him 'such imployment in our affaires as you shall find his abillities and merritts to deserve'

THE COAST AND BAY, 1667

On 31 August, 1666, and again on 14 September following, the Company, which was still entirely ignorant of the revolution which had taken place at Madras, sent a short letter overland to the factors there, enclosed in a packet addressed to Surat. The first of these contained, besides general news, an intimation that one or two small vessels, aggregating 300 tons, would be sent out towards the close of the year; the second repeated a former order that the Bengal factors should provide 300 tons of saltpetre yearly, to be in readiness for immediate shipment, and it also gave an account, similar to that sent to Surat (see p. 271), of the great fire that had just devastated London. Whether these letters ever reached their destination and, if so, when, we have no means of ascertaining.

On 28 December, 1666, another letter to Fort St. George was signed. This informed the factors that the Company, finding it difficult to procure ships on freight, had resolved to send out a small

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vessel of its own, called the *Charles*, of about 130 tons burden, commanded by Samuel Smith and carrying a cargo totalling 3,967*l.*, composed of broadcloth, quicksilver, lead, coral, rials of eight, &c. The captain had been instructed to call at St. Helena (to land men and provisions) and then to proceed direct to Madras. There she was to be reladen and dispatched home as soon as possible.

Since what advised you in our former, there hath byn little action betweene the fleetes, it being winter season; only the taking of the vice-admirall of France, of 54 brasse guns [see p. 276]. There are great preparations on all sides against the spring, and little likelyhood of peace; and what issue it may please God to give unto it, He only knoweth. . . . In our former wee gave you the sadd relation of that dreadfull fire in our citty; and because peradventure the Dutch may report it to bee more then really it is, wee herewith send you a platt,[1] wherein is discribed what part thereof is distroyed and what is remayning.

The factors were exhorted to watch vigilantly the designs of the Dutch and the French, and to live as frugally as possible. A promise was given that, as soon as peace was concluded, ample supplies would be sent out, both of stock and shipping.

With this letter the *Charles* had already started from the Thames when, in the middle of January, 1667, the Surat letter of 1 January, 1666, arrived, bringing the astounding news of Foxcroft's imprisonment and Winter's usurpation of the government. Orders were at once sent to Captain Smith to keep his vessel in the Downs until further orders; while a deputation was appointed to wait upon the King and solicit an order from him to Winter to surrender Fort St. George. Thomas Winter was urged to write to his brother and persuade him to return to his obedience, and this he promised to do; but when the letter was presented, it was found that it merely advised Sir Edward 'to consult his owne interest and safetie, and noe way inviting him to act for the Companies advantage', and so the Committees declined to forward it.

The King made no difficulty about interposing his authority on the Company's behalf, and on 28 January he signed two documents, the one[2] pardoning Winter and his associates for their rebellion, contingent upon their prompt surrender of the Fort

[1] This was doubtless the well-known map by Wenceslaus Hollar.

[2] See P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 80, 81.

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to the Company's representatives, the other,[1] addressed to Winter in particular, expressing surprise at his conduct and ordering him to give up the Fort and to assist in restoring order. In both the action taken by the rebels was unsparingly condemned. These documents having been delivered to the Company, the latter added a formal commission for the surrender of Fort St. George,[2] and dispatched the packet to the *Charles*, which had now moved to Plymouth. At the same time the Committees forwarded a fresh batch of letters for Madras, all dated 31 January. The first of these was addressed to 'Our Agent, Governor, and Counsell' and said that, acting upon the report from Surat (though full particulars had not yet come to hand) they had deemed it advisable, in order to compose the disturbances, to procure the King's pardon to those concerned. That document had been entrusted to Walter Clavell,[3] who was embarking in the *Charles* and who had been engaged as a factor and a member of the Council at a salary of 70*l.* per annum. Foxcroft was to be immediately restored to his position as Agent and Governor, and all persons were charged to yield implicit obedience to him. Should he be dead, the Council was to assume control until further orders. To Winter the Committees wrote in rather a propitiatory tone, explaining their action and expressing their confidence that he would obey the King's command. They reminded him that he had always been treated with consideration by the Company, and assured him that any service he might do them at this critical juncture would be 'kindlie rescented'. To Chuseman they wrote in a sterner tone, requiring him to return to his obedience and for the future to observe any orders he might receive from the Agent and Council.

Not a word was said in any of these letters as to the dismissal of the offenders, and evidently it was the intention of the Company to treat them with leniency, if only they would make submission. Clavell's instructions were to go ashore upon his arrival and, if he found Foxcroft dead or a prisoner, to proceed to the Fort and summon every one to hear him read the King's declaration and the Company's commission. Should this fail to secure obedience, the

[1] *Ibid.*, ff. 77, 79. The former is the original letter.

[2] *Letter Books*, vol. iv. p. 58.

[3] For an account of him see an article by Miss Anstey in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1905.

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ship was to sail for Masulipatam, with or without Clavell, who, it was tacitly assumed, might possibly be seized by the rebels.

On the very day (31 January) that this packet was dispatched to Plymouth, the Company received the letters written by Winter immediately after the outbreak at the Fort. The one addressed to the King was made over to Thomas Winter, who lost no time in presenting it and in pressing that the matter should be reconsidered in the light of the fresh information now available. Thereupon the King ordered the Company to recall the documents he had granted; and consequently Clavell was instructed to send back the whole packet, including the Company's letters, and to await fresh instructions. A long dispute followed. The Committees presented a petition to the King, in which they represented the dangerous position brought about by Winter's rebellious proceedings.[1] This was read at a meeting of the Privy Council on 8 March and was referred to a strong committee, headed by the Lord Chancellor.[2] Thomas Winter was allowed to attend to represent his brother's case, and proved himself an able advocate. The Company, however, produced an independent witness in the person of Captain William Hutchins, who had opportunely arrived from the East,[3] and whose testimony evidently impressed the Committee. Its report was made at a meeting of the Privy Council held on 20 March,[4] the King himself presiding. This report was entirely in favour of the Company. The Committee bluntly expressed the opinion that Sir Edward was not so innocent as he pretended to be, and had had other motives than the preservation of His Majesty's honour. It was evident, they said, that there had been a conspiracy and that the charge of treason was a mere pretext. In any case Winter's proper course would have been to send home information on the matter, and his seizure of the Agent was unjustifiable,

[1] See *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 42, p. 138, and P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 96. The Company took occasion to complain of Cooke's seizure of a Surat junk, and the issue of a royal commission to the *Love* in contravention of their charter (see p. 273 *n.*).

[2] *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 42, p. 139, and P.R.O.: *Privy Council Registers*, vol. 59, pp. 330, 344.

[3] His statement, dated 6 March, 1667, is to be found in *C.O.* 77, vol. x (f. 94). Subsequently (15 March) it was put into the form of a sworn deposition, a copy of which is preserved in *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iii (p. 85). Extracts from this have already been given.

[4] *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 42, p. 140, and *Privy Council Registers* (as above); also *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 104.

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besides setting a very bad example. The East India Company had offered that, if Foxcroft were allowed to remain at Madras as Agent, a successor would be sent out within a year or so, and then on his return Foxcroft could be arraigned if His Majesty so desired. The Committee recommended that this proposal should be accepted, with the addition that Winter should be civilly treated while at Madras, that his property should be exempt from seizure, and that he should be suitably accommodated on his return voyage. Proceedings against him might then be taken in England, if desired. The King in Council accepted these recommendations. Winter was declared to be dismissed, and was to deliver up the Fort to the Company's representatives. Foxcroft was to be allowed to remain for about a year, and was on his return to appear before His Majesty for consideration of the charge of treason. Winter was to be permitted to come home quietly, without seizure of any of his effects.

The decision to allow Foxcroft to continue for a time as Agent had not been reached without some dispute. The first draft of the royal instructions to the Company directed that commissioners, ' not participant or concerned ' in the dispute, should be nominated to take charge of the government, and that Foxcroft and his son should be recalled as soon as convenient. This was modified a little later, but still required the Company to send out a fresh Agent, instead of continuing Foxcroft. The Company, however, represented strongly the bad effect of such a step ; and as a result the draft was again revised, allowing Foxcroft to remain as Agent for a year or thereabouts, and then to come home and face his accusers.[1] The draft of the letter from the King to Winter was also altered more than once. In its final form (12 April) it ordered him to surrender Fort St. George to Foxcroft or any one else whom the Company might appoint, and then to set his private affairs in order and proceed to England for the decision of the controversy.[2] At the same time was approved a royal declaration, requiring the submission of Winter and his associates and the surrender of the Fort, under penalty of their being proceeded against as rebels and traitors.[3]

[1] The draft, in its various stages, will be found at ff. 120, 136, 137, 139 of vol. x. of *C.O.* 77. Copies of the Company's protest are given at ff. 71, 140, 142 of the same volume.

[2] *Ibid.*, ff. 118, 119, 128, 129 ; also *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 42, p. 145.

[3] *Ibid.*, f. 134 ; and *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 42, p. 146.

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By the time these documents had been got ready, the Company had decided that, owing to the lateness of the season, the *Charles* must be diverted to Surat. A letter from the Governor, dated 11 April, and addressed to Captain Smith and Mr. Clavell, intimated this decision. A fresh letter to Madras was signed on 16 April, and dispatched the same day to Clavell at Plymouth. This enclosed a copy of the previous letter of 28 December, and explained the reason for the diversion of the *Charles* to Surat. From that place Clavell was to travel to Madras, should he hear that Foxcroft was once again in possession of the Agency; otherwise he was to proceed to Masulipatam, to consult with the factors there how best to put the King's commission 'into execution'. It was added that negotiations for peace with the Dutch were about to commence. A letter to much the same effect was addressed to Jearsey and Niclaes at Masulipatam. This mentioned that Clavell had been instructed, should the ship put into Goa, to disembark and remain there until he could receive directions from Surat, with a view to his proceeding direct from the former city to Madras or Masulipatam. Should Foxcroft be dead upon the arrival of the King's commission, then Jearsey and the others named in the Company's 'apointment' were to put the commission into execution and take over the administration. In the same packet were sent the King's letter to Winter, the royal declaration, with 'the Companies apointment[1] thereunto annexed', the Company's letter to Chuseman, and so forth. However, all these arrangements came to nought, for the *Charles* (as already noted) did not reach India until May, 1668.

The news of the conclusion of peace with the Dutch was sent out, via Surat, to Madras, Masulipatam, and Hūgli in letters dated 26 August, 1667. The one addressed to the Agent, Governor, and Council at Fort St. George assumed that by the time of its receipt Foxcroft would have been restored to his post, and he and his fellow sufferers were assured that the Company had a due sense of what they had undergone and of their 'faithfullness and integrity toward us'. A list of piece-goods to be provided was next supplied, and a special request was made for a supply of 'short white ginghams' similar to some captured in a Dutch ship. Notice was given that in the following season five ships would be dispatched to Madras

[1] See *Home Miscellaneous*, vol. 42, p. 149.

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with a considerable stock. One of these would go on to Jambi or Bantam, and a suitable cargo for her was to be provided. The arrival of the *Constantinople Merchant* was recorded, and orders were given for an advance of money to the officers of the *American* and *Greyhound*, if necessary.

This letter was enclosed in one to Masulipatam, in which the factors there were instructed, should Winter still be in possession of Fort St. George, to act on their own initiative in providing return cargoes for the expected fleet. Should Clavell not have arrived, and Madras be yet in the hands of the rebels, Jearsey and his colleagues were to do their best to recover the Fort, for which purpose copies of the King's declaration, his letter to Winter, &c., were forwarded. They were to point out to the 'disturbers' that the sooner they obeyed His Majesty's command, the better it would be for them, 'for when our ships with force arrive, they must not expect those termes which now our Agent Governour, and you of his Counsell, may graunt them'.

The companion letter to 'Our Cheife and Factors at Hughlie' contained, like the foregoing, news of the arrival of various ships with letters, answers to which were promised by the next fleet. Return cargoes of saltpetre, taffetas, calicoes, and cotton yarn were to be prepared; and orders were given for the dispatch to Madras or Masulipatam of a quantity of saltpetre for transport to Bantam or Jambi.

The date of receipt of these letters cannot be traced, but it would seem that the packet containing them did not reach Surat until April or May, 1668, and their transmission to Masulipatam must have occupied a considerable further period.

It is time now to follow the course of events in India itself, though our information on the point is somewhat meagre. The earliest reference in the India Office records is contained in the letter of 26 March from the President and Council at Surat to the Company. This said that nothing had been heard from Masulipatam since May, 1666, though the safety of the *Constantinople Merchant* had been learnt from a note of 13 December, written by Niclaes from Golconda, to which place he had been sent to negotiate regarding saltpetre seized by the King's officers and also, it was surmised, about the recovery of Fort St. George. Concerning what

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had happened at the latter place, their only information came from travellers who had arrived from thence.

The report is that Sir Edward hath concluded with the Dutch to deliver it up to them, and that hee only waites the Governour of Ceilon's answere for the resigning it. It is also said that hee hath a ship or vessaile of his owne, in which hee intends to make his escape; but it is not said whether. Wee doe not heare but that Agent Foxcroft is still living, but a close prisoner, and wee heare so are all the rest, as well souldiers as factors, [Sir Edward] confiding altogether in his black guard. The preist that fomented and managed the whole mutiny hath forsaken the place and fled, its not knowne whither. And this is what wee can heare of this unfortunate business. The peetre being clear'd, which Mr. Niclaes seemes to make no great difficultie of, was purposed to be laden on your *Constantinople Merchant*, who was intended to be retourn'd you sometime in January, if they can get her cleare from the enemy. . . . Your *Dorcas* frigat, Mr. Niclaes advises, was dispeeded laden to you about the latter end of October; of whome wee have heard nothing since, which gives us the assurance shee is got cleare of the Bay.

This intelligence was about as accurate as most 'travellers' tales'. There seems to have been no real ground for suspecting that Winter intended to hand over Madras to the Dutch; while the report of the flight of Smythes was quite untrue.

Meanwhile, Winter and his associates had addressed letters to the King and his ministers on 30 January, 1667, and had sent them to Surat, under cover to Gary, apparently supposing him to be there. One item in the packet was probably the petition from twenty Portuguese residents at Madras to King Charles in favour of Winter which is now in the Public Record Office (*C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 83), while another may have been the undated letter to His Majesty in the same collection (*ibid.*, vol. ix. no. 144) from Winter and his colleagues, complaining of the actions of Oxenden and Jearsey and appealing for help. Oxenden refused to meddle with the packet or to transmit it to its destination, but allowed it to be sent to Bombay, whence Gary dispatched it to England in December, together with the later letters he had received direct from Madras.

The receipt at Masulipatam of the Company's letter of 10 March, 1666, with its accompaniments (see pp. 251–3) prompted Jearsey

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to make yet another effort to secure the reinstatement of Foxcroft. As we have seen, the Company had sent out a commission appointing Foxcroft to be Governor as well as Agent; while the royal commission also forwarded was doubtless addressed to him. It must have been clear from the covering letter that the Company had not, at the time of writing, heard of the revolution at Madras; but this fact was evidently concealed, and Jearsey hoped to bluff the mutineers into believing the opposite. Of the measures taken in consequence we have two accounts. The first of these is contained in a letter to Lord Arlington, dated 30 October, 1667, and signed by Winter, Proby, Chuseman, and Smythes (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 199, 205). After a fling at Foxcroft for purchasing confiscated estates during the time of the Commonwealth, and a reference to 'the infamousness of that place and condition from whence he was fetcht to this preferment', the writers complained of Jearsey's imprisonment of Winter's agents and his attempts to recover Fort St. George. Finding these ineffectual, he had planned to attack Madras by sea and land. It was intended to send down the *Constantinople Merchant* to blockade the town by sea, and Jearsey dispatched

One Collonell James Armstrong (a counterfitt of Mr. Jearseys owne setting up at Gulquondah) with a pretended comission from His Majesty of England, empowring him to acquitt the prisoners from the charge of treason and to restore the late Agent Foxcroft to his former government.

Jearsey also, it was averred, issued warrants in the King's name, summoning English subjects in all those parts to repair to Masulipatam and take part in the expedition, which was to reach Madras by Christmas (1666). About two months later Jearsey intercepted the Company's overland letters for Madras, and found therein a royal commission for the trial of Mrs. Dawes; whereupon he forged a warrant from the Company, dated 13 June, 1666, for the restoration of Foxcroft. The lack of signatures to this document, and 'the ill forgerie of the Companies seale', enabled the Madras factors to detect its falsity. Sir Heneage Finch's name was then brought in, and a pretended royal commission was also produced.

All the English, as well sea as land men, were sent forward, under the comand of one Roger Brodnax, and came to a randevouz at

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Armagun, intending thereby to force the dissenting party into a complyance with their demands. But His Majesty's letter was no sooner publiquely read on the Corps du gard (which was performed shortly after reception) but the fallacy of this misinterpreter easily appeared, to the great laughter and derision of the soldiers in generall; and William Jearseys new levied army, like the King of France, forc't to returne back with the scorne and ignominy, both of towne and country.

The second account occurs in a letter from Winter and his associates to the Company, dated 29 October, and enclosed in the same packet as the foregoing. This gives the following narrative of Jearsey's proceedings:

Nott to make mention off his idea [1] Armestrong, with whome the credulous multitude was almost perswaded into a beleife off its reality, wee proceede to matter off fact wherein Your Worships are more neerely concernd, being made the auther off a commission and warrant issued out by your order in His Majesties name for setting free of the Agent etc., and that by vertue off the Kings letter, or rather commission, that accompanyed it. Wee were a long time allarumd with it before it came, and were sufficiently prepared to bare the event. All the English in and about Gulcondah and elce where in these parts were summond by Mr. Jearsey to accompany him hither, giveing out hee would himselfe be the bringer of it; and soe much of truth in appearance seemd to be, that none could imagine it otherwise then it was reported. Forty English soldiers and seamen were, with armes and ammunition, sent before from Metchlepatam, to awaite the comeinge of Mr. Jearsey etc., to make his entrance here in the greater state. But they, poore men, after a month beating the hoofe in this hott climate in expectation of his comeing, receive theire missive to returne back; and hee, not dareing to venture his carkasse beyond the limitts off his owne doores, sends Mr. Fleetwood with full power and authority (as by vertue off the Kings letter and that warrant brought with him) to reinvest the Agent in his place. His arryvall here was the 28 March; and noe sooner come hee into towne but wee accompanyed him to the Fort, where he (to avoyd all annimosityes off what disafected persons might presurmise) was permitted to deliver the Kings letter to the Agent, and afterwards publikely to read it on the Corps du gard; the contents off which, as itt proovd contrary to the generall expectation off all, soe it confirmed our opinions touching the comission and warrant in Your Worships name, which from the beginning wee judgd to be

[1] Image, or representative.

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counterfeit, yet wee resolved to have obeyd them, had they agreed with the tennour of His Majesties letter. The coppyes are herewith remitted for your better satisfaction; wondring with what boldnesse hee durst presume to make use of your name in issueing out warrants of such high consequence, which commands the setting free of persons comitted on a charge of high treason against His Sacred Majestie, and avouching coppies of them under his owne hand to be the true coppies off the originall. The troubles hereby arising to our selves have not bin few; first, in respect off the soldiery, who, as little children, are alwayes taken with noveltyes and ever greedy off change, though from better to worse, especially the wavering and disafected party, who have bin ensnared by Mr. Jearseys instruments headlong to precipitate themselves, but now to late acknowledge their error; then the continuall greate charge which, in respect off the Dutch Warr, the projects off Mr. Jearsey inviting the Moores to assist him in his designes to gett this Fort, together with the frequent bribes distributed amongst some of the souldery (ever greedy of what they can catch, seldome or never regarding what they goe aboute), causes our vigilences to be the greater and our expences to run hither [higher?] then otherwise they would; the greatest part off which Your Worships will have cause to thanke his irregular and unnaturall transactions.

As the year wore on and no sign was made from England of any approval of their audacious coup, Winter and his adherents seem to have become disheartened. In September, it is true, their spirits were revived to a certain extent by a letter from Gary at Bombay, declaring himself wholeheartedly on their side. The apprehension caused by the constant attempts to restore Foxcroft to his post had induced Winter to address a letter to Sir Gervase Lucas, asking him to take charge of the prisoners. This letter reached Bombay on 3 August, and was opened by Gary, whose exalted ideas of his own importance as the sole representative in India of his sovereign led him at once to take sides against persons accused of high treason against His Majesty. Replying on 8 August (P.R.O.: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. f. 156) he expressed his concern at 'the sadd and fowle story' and enclosed a proclamation (*ibid.*, ff. 158, 161, and *O.C.* 3219) commanding all British subjects to acquiesce in the imprisonment of the late Agent and his associates until they could be transported to England for trial, and to abstain from disturbing Sir Edward Winter in his government. Gary assured the latter that, had Bombay been in a fit state of defence, he would

willingly have sent for the prisoners. He censured Jearsey's boldness in intercepting letters addressed to the King and in issuing proclamations in his name. Finally, he desired information concerning the proceedings of the Dutch in Ceylon, and sent a cypher code for Winter's use in further correspondence.

Gary's proclamation drew a caustic letter from Foxcroft to him, dated 8 October (*ibid.*, f. 161, and *O.C.* 3221). He enclosed a copy of the document, which had been 'published in the church to all the English in this place and was afterwards posted up in the Corps du guard'; but he declared that he could not believe that such a 'bundle of follies, impertinances, exorbitant and ridiculous commands' could have emanated from 'a person that may assume or be worthy to be graced with so ample and honourable titles as I finde in the front thereof'. He must conclude that the document had been fabricated by Winter, who, finding himself repulsed by all other persons of authority in India, including Gary's predecessors, now

Casts his anchor of hope (to bolster up his fainting confederates) upon the sandy ground of this contrived paper, mored upon the authority of your name; which two of his champions (I suppose conscious of the jugle) foresaw it comeing home and their hearts fainted for feare. One of them, vizt., the priest Smythes, the reader thereof, was put into such a trembling posture in his hands and knees . . . insomuch that this debauched priest could scarce read plainly the paper in his hand; and at the same instant the Leift. Chuseman, another of his capitall champions, dropt downe from his seate in a swound, for the present as dead, and broke his head, and was so distempered that he is to this day scarce perfectly recovered, although it was the 16th day of the last month when this evill omen to them hapned, which they have cause so much the rather to observe, it being the very same day two yeares, and about the same hower of the day, wherein their hands were embrued in that bloudy tragedy; which though it administred matter of derision to the auditors (which many of them could not forbeare, though they are under a slavish feare of the tyrants), yet because I presume your name hath bene abused in this imposture, I suppose it will have another effect in your judgement, and that you will find it necessary to vindicate your self by some publique instrument from this foule aspertion, and therby doe right to your owne wisdome and honor and to truth.

Foxcroft would await the expected disavowal before reporting the matter to England, or would at least merely state the facts

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and add his opinion that the proclamation was a forgery. As a proof of the Company's confidence in him, he mentioned that he had recently received a new commission from them, appointing him Governor of Fort St. George, as well as a royal commission for the trial and punishment of offenders—an authority never given to his predecessors and one of which Winter could not deprive him. He warned Gary, therefore, to be careful how he entangled himself in the latter's plots.

This communication reached Bombay at the end of March, 1668, and Gary replied on 8 June in a violently vituperative letter, which is printed in Colonel Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. i (p. 252). Foxcroft's answer will be found, like the foregoing, in *O.C.* 3219, while some letters from Gary to Jearsey on the subject are contained in *C.O.* 77, vol. x (f. 161), at the Public Record Office; but all these documents are beyond the limits of the present volume.

A significant proof of the drooping courage of Winter's adherents was the defection of Joseph Farley, who fled to Masulipatam and there signed a declaration (*O.C.* 3220) that he had given his evidence against Foxcroft only under threats of being himself impeached: that Smythes had broached the matter to him about twenty-five days before the charge was actually made, and the intervening time had been occupied in plotting how to seize the Agent: that, had he known 'the designe and selfe interest' of Winter and his associates, he would never have consented to attest the accusation: and that he now withdrew all charges he had made. In spite of this blow, Winter, Proby, and Chuseman wrote on 29 October to the Company with every appearance of confidence. The first portion of the letter has already been quoted on p. 322. The writers went on to report that they had not been able to sell any of their goods, with the result that Winter himself had had to defray all current expenses: that letters from the Bantam factors had been forwarded to Gary for transmission home: and that it was feared the *American* and *Greyhound* would never be fit to return to England, 'having layn all this while in Ballasore river in mudd'. Finally, they expressed their confidence that they would in due time be cleared of all the calumnies put forth by Foxcroft and Jearsey.

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By the same conveyance was sent the letter of 30 October to Lord Arlington mentioned above (p. 321). In this, after giving the account already quoted of Jearsey's endeavours to regain Madras, Winter and his associates went on to say that these had been followed up by an attempt to suppress the evidence against Foxcroft, by enticing Farley to Masulipatam, where, according to rumour, he had retracted his previous declaration. This, however, was of no importance, as (they declared) many other witnesses were still available. Since the Company's goods were unvendible, Winter had had to pay all expenses for the past eighteen months; but he trusted that the King would make the Company refund his outlay. The letter ended with a request that His Lordship would represent to His Majesty the desperate situation in which the writers had been placed by their devotion to him.

For the same purpose of enlisting Lord Arlington's sympathy and assistance, Winter addressed a private letter to him (28 October: *C.O.* 77, vol. x. ff. 194, 209). This opened with bitter complaints against Foxcroft and Sambrook. As regards the former it suggested that 'the loss of his church lands and other places of proffitt which George Foxcroft, in the time of the late Protectour, kept from the right owners' had not only embittered him but had sharpened his appetite for means to make good his losses, and that designs on Winter's property had been an incentive to his actions. A fear was also expressed that those members of the East India Company who had procured Foxcroft's appointment would now do their best to save their credit by bringing him 'fairely off'. Winter further complained that Jearsey had caused him much loss by seizing his goods at Masulipatam and other places, thus increasing the damage he had sustained by his loyalty to the King.

This is the last document of 1667 that refers to the subject, and the story of the final stages must be left to the succeeding volume.

A letter from Batavia to the Dutch East India Company, dated 25 September/5 October, 1667 (*Hague Transcripts*, series i. vol. xxviii. no. 735), reported that English commerce at Masulipatam and Madras was at a standstill. The factors had given out that they expected ships from England, but none had arrived when the Dutch fleet left the coast in July. At their request the King of Golconda had issued

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a fresh proclamation forbidding hostilities in his waters, and had also ordered the Dutch to restore a small English vessel they had seized in Masulipatam Roads two years before. In the circumstances it had been deemed prudent to refrain from provoking the King by attacking the English.

A similar letter of 26 November/6 December, 1667 (*ibid.*, no. 736), added that no English ships had reached the Coast of Coromandel. The Chief (Jearsey) and most of his associates were at Narsapur. Winter was still holding Madras, and had declared that he would only surrender it upon the express command of King Charles. Foxcroft was yet in prison. The King of Golconda had appointed a fresh Governor for Masulipatam district, and this would entail an outlay of from five to six thousand gulden in presents. The Danes were active at Tranquebar and Negapatam.

Before leaving the subject of Coromandel affairs, reference should be made to an interesting letter from Madapollam to the Company, dated 1 December, 1667, of which only a portion has survived, and that nominally in abstract, though the quotation appears to be largely verbatim.

They advise there is great scarcity of money, and the people are soe fleeced and harrast by the governours that there is noe quicke marketts for any thinge. And the King having gott almost all the old pagothes in his countrey into his owne hands, for want of them to pay in their rents have raised their vallue to a strange height, giving a while since seven rupees for an old pagothe, and near 170 new pagothes for 100 old, when the reall value of an old pagothe, give it a knocke with an hammer, is not worth more then a new. By this device the King makes as much more of his countreys (letting them still out for as great a quantitye of old pagothes as formerly) as will serve to pay his tribute to Oranzeb; and by this means makes the manufactory of his countrey, where old pagothes is the thinge all things are valued by, to be 40 per cent. dearer then it used to be, paying but the same quantity of old pagothes, and noe more, for it then they did before. For reckoninge a corge of cloth att 10 pagothes old, when they went att 5 rupees, amounts to 50 rupees, and now they hold it att the same price of old pagothes, which is 70 rupees, and clearly 40 per cent. dearer then it use[d] to be. And tis yet more, if we reckon the tyme when old pagothes went but att 4½ rupees each. The losse is the same alsoe if we reckon uppon new pagothes for 4 rupees; and a new pagothe seldom differs in the common price above two cash which

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is not above three halfe pence, that the new pagothe is worth lesse then 4 rupees; but in some places of this countrey, where new pagothes are the currant money, they goe att just 4 rupees for a new pagothe. Now those people that doe not deale for any great matters are not soe sensible of the inconveniency as we that have something more in charge ought to be; and they are soe wedded to a vulgar errour we finde amongst them, that rupees and new pagothes, or gold and silver, are cheape, that it is a hard matter to make them understand it otherwise; when the mistake is that old pagothes are deare; they not consideringe that both gold and silver in all parts of the world are rather dearer then they have bin formerly. But by degrees we must make them sensible of this and bring downe the price, or elce it will be but bad makeing investments in these parts. And twill be necessary alsoe that the accompts of these factoryes were kept in new pagothes or rupees, that Your Worships may the better see what your goods provided in these parts stand you in. But in this, as in other matters, we shall doe nothinge without Agent Foxcrofts advice and order. For what goods are brought into this countrey to sell, the people are soe foreseing as to make their price in old pagothes lesse then they used to be att, for the reasons aforesaid. And it behooves us to observe the same caution for what we buy of them. Therefor it cannot be thought but that they doe understand it but will not, and tis done out of policye to raise the price of commodityes of the growth and make of this countrey and undervalue all that cometh from abroad, as well alsoe as to make his incomes the greater. And the weavers etc. must keepe upp the price of their cloth, or elce they cannot pay their rent and taxes, it being by this contrivance much more then formerlye. But surely this cannot endure long; for as investments will be lesse in these parts, soe money will be scarcer, and they will not finde enough to pay the Kinge his rent, and then the Kinge must take paddy, as not long since, conferring with Mah[mu]d Beague, a Great Governour, about this busines, we told him; who is very sensible how much he is putt to it already to raise money, and twill be worse with him if this continueth, he really payinge 40 per cent. more for his countrey then he did formerly and yet stands att the same rate of old pagothes. We have troubled our heads how to remove this abuse (for we can terme it noe other), and had we peace with the Dutch, that we could conferr notes a little with them, it might be effected by onely forbearinge making any investments, where old pagothes are the standard to value all things by, but onely two moneths. The want would soone be felt and the reasons inquired into; and then this backt with a generall complaynt to the Kinge of all nations, espetially we and the Dutch, and his owne governours

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(which were easily procured), twould make him soone seeke a remedye; which we should alsoe prescribe to him, not to lower the price of his old pagothes, having them all in his owne hands (for then he would be a greate loser and unwillinge to it) but rather to raise them from 15 fanams (which is onely a denomination) they alwayes stand att, to 22½, which would be halfe as much more, and 15 shillings; and then, reckoninge a rupee to be the 7th parte of that, it would be something near the true value; reckoninge a fanam still 8 pence, and the new pagothe att 12 fanams, and soe to remayn without alteration. By this the King might gett a great deale of money and hurt noebody but those that shall be found with many of the old pagothes by them att the Kings death or change of government. The deceit lyes altogether in this, that their old pagothes are not raised to a greater quantity of fanams (which is onely a denomination and noe coyne) as well as to a greater quantity of rupees and new pagothes; and all fine goods (and some course too, as longcloth) being bought by the fanam, the losse is the same as if bought by the pagothe; for which there must be a remedye found. This we have thought requisitt to advise, that Your Worships may rightly understand how it cometh to passe that your gold and silver, rated by the old pagothe, cometh to such a losse, and likewise your goods from hence to be dearer. There is alsoe an abuse in the mint att Gulcondah for rupees, which may be hath not bin taken much notice of, it having alwayes bin an use here to deliver out our silver to the merchants att a certain price, which is commonly more then any sheroffs would give for it; and that is this. Those that farme the mint report the rupees to be fine silver, as they ought to be, but we finde they are not above 14 penny weight better then standard; and delivering into the mint 24¼ rupees weight of fine silver, we can receive noe more then 23¼ rupees coyned for it, which is about 4 in the hundred; and they are soe much courser then fine silver that will amount to 3 per cent. more; which is 7 per cent. Something might be saved by this, could they be coyned before they come hither. Or were the mint here in Metchlepatam, we should strugle with them about the 3 per cent. in finenes. Notwithstanding the present warrs we have with the Dutch, they still drive att ingrossing all the trade of India to themselves, makeing noe other account but to drive us out and that they shall injoye it peaceably hereafter; and have had a designe of renting Metchlepatam while it was under the Seirkaile [see p. 242], profering him a hundred thousand pagothes per annum for the towne and countrey that belongs to it, which is more then they make of it now; but Neicknam Caun stept in between, and hindered the bargain. They have a great minde alsoe to rent Verasheroone, but Mahm[u]d Beague will not

consent to it, havinge often denyed them ; their towne of Pollicull [1] being but six miles from it, which they are now inlargeing, having not roome enough, and have pulld downe a great parte of the towne to sett it in order and make the streets straight, and they have alsoe rebuilt their factory there, which was a very convenient place before. Thither people flocke, being easier livinge under them then under the yoake of the Moores ; nor are they soe abnoxious [i. e. liable] to the Moores fleecinge of them, for they must not medle with them there. Neither dare any of their merchants offer to come and buy any goods of us or sell any thing to us, uppon perill of loosing the goods and being expelled the towne, as of late one or two have bin served ; that had we Verashroone in the manner as they have Pollicull, they would many of them come thither, it being alsoe a much better place then Pollicull is, and will be huge convenient for Your Worships when you shall thinke fitt to increase your trade. Therefor we shall endeavour to keepe the Dutch out of it.

Of the factors in Bengal, and their transactions during 1667, we hear little. All that is available in the India Office records is an extract from a letter written to Foxcroft by the Bengal factors on 23 December, which runs as follows :

We some moneths past advised of Mr. Pratts leaving the Nabobs imployment, and that after his arrivall to Hughlye he was sent for uppon promise of great rewards. Accordingly he returned, and had a little of honour conferrd on him. . . . After he endeavoured to gett an authentique phirmaund that the Dutch should restore what goods they seized on in this road, and that they give a writeinge for the future not to act the like ; which he was still promised, but att last found it could not be procured without giving the Nabob its value, which thought not convenient to doe ; since which advises of Pratts in May last we have not received any, neither replyed he to some of ours. About the latter end of August he was dispeeded, with severall Portuguez, to the King ; but (we cannot write for what reason) he fled by boat and gott to a frontier fort of the King of Arrackans. In his way he engaged some of the Nabobs vessells and did some mischiefe, carrying away two of them ; and since (by report) hath entred with a power this Kings countrey and retaken a place which the Moores formerly had taken. About the midle of October we received a phirmaund from the Nabob, giving us notice of his flight and requiringe us to recall him ; otherwise we might expect a generall stopp in our businesse. We replyed to his letter that he was not the Companyes servant, nor entertaynd

[1] Pālakollu (see note at p. 260 of the 1655–60 volume).

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on our recommendation, nor did he write to us about him: farther, that if any was responsible, it must be his security (said were two Moores of quallity, who, as reported, are imprisoned); alsoe that in his, the Kings, etc. gentlemens service there were severall English, of which if any did any thinge amisse, it should not be expected that the nation should be responsible, but the partye, and in default his security. What may be the event [we] knowe not, but that he is much displeased; and feare, if Mr. Pratt comes with the Arrackan fleet, it may incense him to affront our persons and seize on the Companyes estate, he being a person most unjust, and soe great that he stands not in feare of the King; soe that any pretence is suffitient to bring into his coffers. By advice from the person we imploy att court, the Nabob demands of Mr. Pratts security 12,000 rupees, which he etc. Portugalls received; said summe they will be necessitated to pay and to remayne in prison.[1] We have writt to the Nabob that we had noe other power to recall him or command him from thence then by our letter, in which we shall declare against his sideing with the Arrackanners, and require him not to be assisting to them, and that he takes the first opportunitye to departe out of said countrey; soe expect his order, and that he will finde a conveyance for sending said; when [we] shall protest against him in His Majesties name as lyable to make satisfaction wherein the Honourable Companye or their servants shall suffer by said his taking parte or assisting in person the King of Arrackan etc.

Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, vol. ii. pp. 102–4) declares that Pratt was killed by the King of Arakan. His story is that the Nawāb contrived that a letter from himself to Pratt should fall into the King's hands. The letter invited the Englishman to return to Dacca and to bring with him, as promised, the King's head. The Arakanese monarch fell into the trap and, convinced that his new ally meditated treachery, put him to death at once. Manucci considerably antedates the event, for he refers to Dāūd Khān as the Nawāb, whereas the latter was evidently Shāista Khān.

A letter of 22 August, 1667, from the English Consul at Aleppo, summarized in the *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission on the Finch MSS.* (vol. i. p. 474), gives an account of news received from Kāsimbāzār, at some date not mentioned. This included a statement that the Dutch factory at Masulipatam was besieged

[1] Some information regarding the steps taken to recover the money will be found in *O.C.* 3259.

by the Moors, to revenge the loss of many of their people of good quality in a ship coming from Mecca, which ran aground to save herself from a vessel displaying French colours but believed to have been really Dutch. Other news included the following:

There hath bin many strange sights and apparitions in severall parts of India, as also dreadfull earthquakes, devouring whole townes with the inhabitants. At Agra, at three in the afternoone, was so thick a darknes in all those parts that none was able to see his owne hand; which lasted halfe an houre and desolved in a tempest. This last yeare it hath pleased God to send such raines and overflowings of the river Conusiall [*sic*] that it hath carryed away whole townes, people, cattle, and undone a great part of the country. At Pattava [Patna] and those parts was so great a storme that it hath rowled the houses of that great citty into heapes and blowne down both the English and Dutch houses there.

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REFERENCES TO INDIA OFFICE DOCUMENTS QUOTED

In the list given below the letters refer to the following volumes, while the figures give the page, folio, or number.

A. The Company's Letter Books, vol. 3
B. The Company's Letter Books, vol. 4
C. Original Correspondence, vol. 28
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E. Factory Records, Surat, vol. 2
F. Factory Records, Surat, vol. 86
G. Factory Records, Surat, vol. 104
H. Factory Records, Masulipatam, vol. 5
I. Factory Records, Masulipatam, vol. 9
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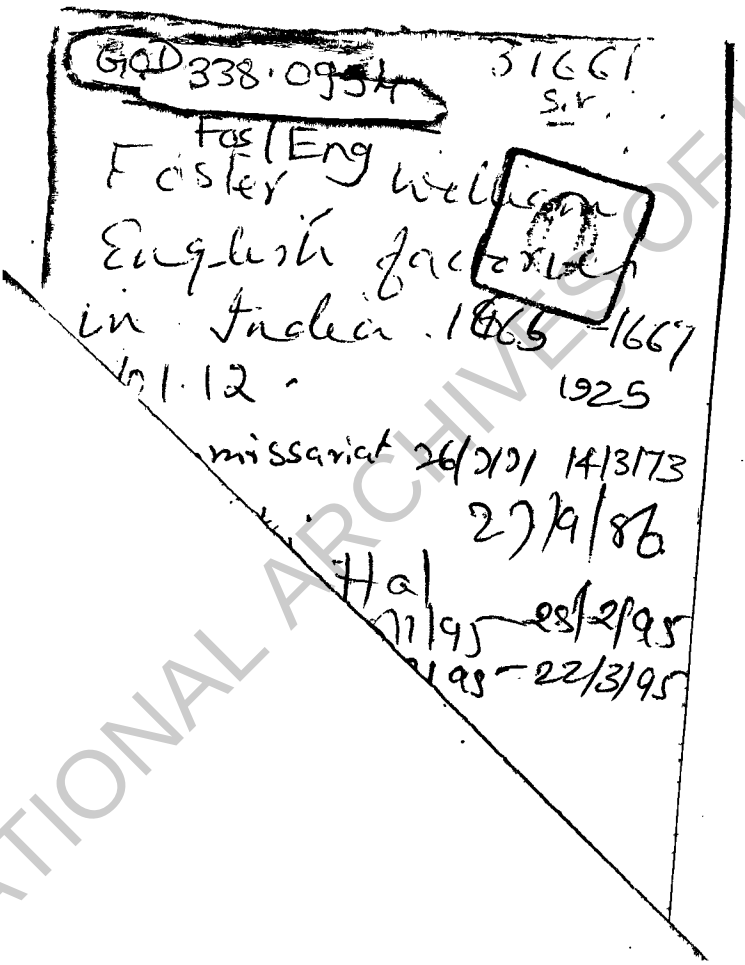

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